

DOCTORAL THESIS

Resisting resistance

ICT adoption within a monastery on Mount Athos

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Resisting Resistance:

ICT Adoption within a Monastery on Mount Athos

by

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Abstract

Micro-level resistance to meso-level information and communication technology (ICT) initiatives is relatively well-explored. Indeed, Lapointe and Rivard (2007) developed a framework for studying such resistance which revealed the importance of the level and longitudinal aspects of ICT adoption. Less well-explored is meso-level resistance to ICTs, and how such resistance may itself be resisted. In this thesis I construct a conceptual framework to explore just such resistance. I draw upon Parsons, Bourdieu and Elias – theorists first combined by Mouzelis (1995; 2008) – to discern power and resistance across levels in each of three dimensions of social practice: positional, dispositional and figural. I test out this framework in an extreme, all-encompassing organisation: a monastery of the Monks' Republic of Mount Athos in northern Greece that chose to resist ICTs. I employ longitudinal ethnography, from 2008 to 2015, so that I capture monks' changing interpretations, in interviews, and their enactments, via participant observation.

In the positional dimension of social practice, I find that the meso-level cedes little scope for resistance. However, it is subject to challenge by micro- and macro-level initiatives in the other dimensions of social practice. In the dispositional I find that, although religious and spiritual capital are significant, shaping the monks' interpretations of ICTs, the social and cultural capital the monks bring from their prior *habitus* provokes their adoption of ICTs. In the figural I find that a mobile phone network's side-stepping of meso-level resistance enables such adoption. This alliance resulted, by 2015, in twenty smartphones within the monastery. Ultimately, despite meso-level resistance, the fortress-like walls and Byzantine-like borders of Mount Athos fail to keep out ICTs. This thesis, in coming to that conclusion, constitutes the first empirical application of Mouzelis' work to ICTs and establishes the relevance and suitability of his three dimensions of social practice for studying resistance.

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List of Abbreviations

AGIL	Adaptation, Goal-Attainment, Integration and Latent Pattern Maintenance
AUTH	Aristotle University of Thessaloniki
Brev	The abbreviation I use to refer to the Shorter Rules of Saint Basil, following the theological convention of abbreviating the Latin, <i>Regulae Brevius Tractatae</i> , and referring to each rule by number and verse. I use the translation by Morison (1912).
CA	Cognitive Absorption
De Ren	The abbreviation I use to refer to <i>An Ascetic Discourse on the Renunciation of the World, and on Spiritual Perfection</i> by Saint Basil, following the theological convention of abbreviating the Latin, and referring to each rule by number and verse. I use the translation by Morison (1912).
EU	European Union
FIS	Financial Information System
Fus	The abbreviation I use to refer to the Longer Rules of Saint Basil, following the theological convention of abbreviating the Latin, <i>Regulae Fusius Tractatae</i> , and referring to each rule by number and verse. I use the translation by Morison (1912).
GTC	Golden Triangle Corporation
ICT(s)	Information and Communication Technology (Technologies)
IS	Information Systems
IM	Holy Monastery (acronym from the Greek)
OC	Organisational Configuration

OSE	Hellenic Railways Organisation (acronym from the Greek)
OTE	Hellenic Telecommunications Organisation (acronym from the Greek)
PVIT	Power Variant of Interaction Theory
ROCOR	Russian Orthodox Church Outside Russia
t'a'i'	Technological, Appropriative and Ideological spheres
TAM	Technology Acceptance Model
TCO	Total Costs of Ownership
UTAUT	Unified Theory of Acceptance and Use of Technology

Glossary of Terms

Archontariki: the guest house of an Athonite monastery, where refreshments are provided for day pilgrims and accommodation for overnight pilgrims.

Civil Governor: a layman appointed by the Greek Minister for Foreign Affairs who is responsible for public order and security on the mountain. They reside in **Karyes**.

Cenobitic: a form of monastic organisation based upon living a common life. Developed by Saint Basil in the late fourth century it originated in the early fourth century with Saint Pachomius. It contrasts with the **idiorhythmic** form.

Daphni: the main port on Mount Athos, where the ferry from **Ouranoupolis** terminates and the smaller boat to the southernmost tip of the peninsula commences. It is connected to **Karyes** by a road along which the mountain's only scheduled bus service runs. It has a few shops and a café.

Diamonitirion (sing.) / **Diamonitiria** (pl.): the permit which enables entry to Mount Athos. My own are reproduced in Appendix A.

Gerontas: transliterated as Elder, the Greek term used to describe a monk revered as holy on the mountain and elsewhere. The Slavonic equivalent is **Starets**.

Hesychast: a monk who practices mental stillness, inner spiritual concentration and unceasing prayer; often the elder of the **kalyvi** or **kelli**.

Hierodeacon: a monk who is also ordained as a deacon. Outside of the **Holy Mysteries**, where they wear specific vestments, they are indistinguishable from other monks.

Hieromonk: a monk who is also ordained as a priest. Outside of the **Holy Mysteries**, where they wear specific vestments, they may be distinguished from other monks by their pectoral (chest) cross.

Holy Community: the decision-making body of the Holy Mountain, on which all of the twenty monasteries' representatives serve. Apart from matters of public order and security, the preserve of the Civil Governor, the twenty monasteries govern the mountain under the supreme supervision of the Œcumenical Patriarch (of Constantinople). It sits in **Karyes**.

Holy Epistasia: the executive body of the Holy Mountain, on which four of the twenty monasteries' representatives serve for one year, every five years. It also sits in **Karyes**.

Holy Mysteries: these include the sacraments of baptism, chrismation (anointing with holy oil immediately following baptism), Eucharist, penance (i.e. confession), holy unction (anointing with holy oil for healing), marriage and ordination. They are called mysteries because they have an invisible, spiritual meaning behind the visible, physical sign.

Idiorrhythmic: a form of monastic organisation based upon complete withdrawal from society. It originated with Saint Anthony of Egypt in the late third century. It contrasts with the **cenobitic** form.

Kalyvi (sing.) / **Kalyvia** (pl.): a simple monastic dwelling which has a chapel within it and a small area of land around it.

Kelli: a self-sufficient dwelling which contains a chapel and is usually surrounded by a large area of land. It is dependent on a monastery, does not belong to a **skete**, and tends to be bigger than a **kalyvi**.

Karyes: the 'capital' of Mount Athos, where the **Holy Epistasia** and **Holy Community** meet, and where each of the twenty ruling monasteries, if they are not in the immediate vicinity, maintain an 'embassy', a detached house, incorporating a chapel, in which their representative can stay and entertain visitors. The **Civil Governor** and the policeman also reside here.

Metochi: literally an ‘estate’, in this context it means a dependent monastery, in both a spiritual as well as a legal sense, which may well serve as a mission.

Ouranoupolis: the main port of departure for Mount Athos, from which a ferry sails to the main port on Mount Athos, **Daphni**, stopping at the harbours of six of the twenty ruling monasteries on its way.

Rassophore: transliterated as robe-bearer, the Greek term used to describe the initial monastic grade, beyond the novitiate, signified by the cassock, hat and veil, received at their **tonsure**.

Semantron: a wooden plank, which, when struck with a mallet, sounds like a gong. It is used to summon the monastic community to services.

Schemamonk: the final monastic grade, beyond **Stavrophore**, signified by the vest-like garment, embroidered with symbols of the Passion and the Trinity, called the Great Schema, received at their **tonsure**.

Skete: many **kalyvia** together form a **skete** which functions like a small monastery; also on the Holy Mountain there are non-Greek cases of a **skete** simply being a small monastery.

Starets: transliterated as Elder, the Slavonic term used to describe a monk revered as holy on the mountain and elsewhere. The Greek equivalent is **Gerontas**.

Stavrophore: transliterated as cross-bearer, the Greek term used to describe the intermediate monastic grade, beyond **Rassophore** and before **Schemamonk**, signified by the wooden cross worn over the heart and connected to a square piece of cloth embroidered with symbols of the Passion worn on the back, received at their **tonsure**.

Tonsure: the cutting of hair, which is an important element of Orthodox baptismal, clerical and monastic initiation rites. It is performed on a monk’s entry into each of the three monastic grades:

Rassophore, Stavrophore and **Schemamonk**. Due to its importance the word is often used to describe the entire rite of initiation.

Weltanschauung: transliterated from the German as world view, this term was popularised with respect to ICTs by Checkland (1990) who used it to refer to assumptions about an artefact arising from a particular perspective.

WiMAX: a technology which can provide wireless internet access over far greater distances than Wi-Fi, but which requires specialist transceivers.

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Chapter 1

Introduction

On April 1, around 20 hooded individuals attacked the room housing Aristotle University's main internet server and smashed computers... On April 15, a group of 10 hooded individuals attacked a Liberal Studies Center (affiliated with British universities,) smashing the windows of a ground floor computer lab...

(American Consulate, Thessaloniki cited in WikiLeaks, 2011)

1.1 The complexity of resistance to information and communication technologies

These attacks occurred in Thessaloniki in 2009, after my first period of fieldwork on Mount Athos for this thesis and as my scholarship application was under consideration by Aristotle University of Thessaloniki (AUTH). The first attack 'plunged the university into darkness' (Kathimerini, 2009a), and, despite working behind freshly-installed armoured security doors and windows, it took maintenance crews three days to restore the University's website and another four to restore email (Kathimerini, 2009a). Originally it was connected in thoughts and words (Kathimerini, 2009e) to the ongoing occupation of the administration building of AUTH by the extra-parliamentary left (Kathimerini, 2009a), in protest at the working conditions of University contract staff (Kathimerini, 2009c). However, an anarchist group described as 'outside the University' (Kathimerini, 2009d), who occupied a carriage of the Hellenic Railways Organisation (OSE), was soon revealed to be behind it. Placed on campus as a ticket booking office (Kathimerini, 2009b), the carriage had ceased

operation as such – if it had ever really opened (O.A. Blog, 2009) – a year before its occupation. During my language studies in summer 2009 I walked past it, each time intrigued as it served as a focal point – ‘an antiauthoritarian space’ (Kathimerini, 2009a) on campus – for alternative activities and expression. In sabotaging Aristotle’s central server, this resistance was deceptively reminiscent of attacks on US campus servers in 1970 in pursuit of withdrawal from Vietnam; central servers being both a practical part of the military-industrial-academic axis and symbolic of dispassion and regimentation (Edwards, 1996). However, the act of depriving the teaching and research activities at Aristotle of their ‘oxygen’ (Kathimerini, 2009f) was actually in pursuit of internet access; a few days previous members of the group had visited the central server room to demand internet access from their carriage to facilitate their radio broadcasting (Kathimerini, 2009f).

The University’s administration was understandably reluctant to give into this demand, because of economic and political considerations as well as technical issues. The carriage was situated in a green area of the campus, some distance from nearby buildings. This ruled out a fast or stable Wi-Fi connection. A fixed broadband connection would require laying a cable across the green area; aside from the environmental damage, this space was once part of the Jewish cemetery of Thessaloniki. Whilst this had not previously prevented the building of the surrounding campus, in recent times the desecration of Jewish Thessaloniki had become a sensitive issue of international interest (Mazower, 2005). A WiMAX network, being trialled at the time by the Hellenic Telecommunications Organisation (OTE), would have been a viable solution. Described as ‘Wi-Fi on steroids’ (Cherry, 2004) it can be used to provide internet access over far greater distances. Ultimately, however, the carriage remained unconnected until it was itself attacked and destroyed nineteen months later (Radio-Revolt, 2010; Agorastou, 2010; AUTH, 2010).

Beyond Aristotle University and the Jewish cemetery, many other individuals and groups demand universal internet access, although usually through more peaceful means. Little in the way of argument is usually even necessary because the benefits of information and communication

technologies (ICTs) are regarded as 'self-evident' (Arthur, 2009). Few issues bring together Left with Right, and public, private and third sectors, like the issue of universal access to ICTs. Here you may find the voices of the President of the United States (President Obama, 2011) and the President of a global corporation (Intel, 2005) in accord, and the papers of a think-tank founded by a former member of the Communist Party of Great Britain (Hannon and Bradwell, 2007) and a think-tank founded by the United States Army Air Force (Anderson et al., 1995) proposing policies in unison. Reflecting the assumption of the benefits of ICTs, a report by the UK government (Lord Carter, 2009) proposed universal access to high-speed fixed and mobile internet and the Welsh Government (2012) introduced a policy on subsidising the provision of access in broadband 'not-spots'. Such pronouncements, proposals and policies have resulted in concrete programmes bringing together public, private and third sectors to accomplish universal access. Indeed, I was previously employed as the technical lead for a multi-million pound programme, in conjunction with universities, charities and governments, to break down barriers to ICT adoption for customers with disabilities¹.

However, ICTs are not a natural resource 'like water' (Wray and Sweney, 2009). They are created by labour and exchanged for profit. One need be no (neo-)Marxist to be somewhat sceptical of the 'sensuousness' (Marx and Engels, [1867] 1974: 163) of these deceptively straightforward commodities. Although, like other commodities, an ICT may appear 'at first sight an extremely obvious, trivial thing', further 'analysis brings out that it is...abounding in metaphysical subtleties and theological niceties' (Marx and Engels, [1867] 1974: 163). Even in classical economics, any public subsidy brings the opportunity cost of other public services not provided. Therefore, those choosing not to consume such ICTs, or to consume them without subsidy, may lose out. Externalities arise from the consumption and production of such ICTs, especially costs to the physical environment, such as the obsolete mobile technologies dumped in landfill sites,

¹ Between 2002 and 2003 I was the Technical Analyst for Special Needs Services at Orange S.A.'s Innovation Centre UK.

dissipating precious metals and risking people's health (Reller et al., 2009). Perhaps, most readily appreciable, are the costs to the social environment of the choice to consume: noise. The emphasis on access anywhere and anytime means that those who use their commute to embrace the world through conversation or – more likely in the more impersonal surroundings of a metropolis – to retreat from the world in silent meditation have their choices constrained and shaped by those using ICTs. Thus, there is a 'new need to withdraw from social noise created by the overwhelming information flow' (Melucci, 1996: 182).

[B]eyond the outward appearance that may be assumed, it is important to understand that in a culture where communication becomes the means and content of domination, silence and retreat are forms of a resistance (Melucci, 1996: 183).

As well as imposing noise, ICTs can also impose values from particular spaces and places onto other, very different cultures: a form of contemporary neo-colonialism (McMaster and Wastell, 2005).

The entanglement of information communication technologies with both globalisation and capitalism informed the second Thessaloniki attack, that on the liberal studies centre, by the Think Tank for the Overthrow of Existence. The computer lab of the centre was targeted because it aimed to produce 'shiny' graduates ready to take their place 'in the sectors of science, technology, economy, marketing and repression' of the global capitalist world order (Think Tank Για Την Ανατροπή Του Υπαρχοντος, 2009). This attack was therefore, unlike the first, faithfully reminiscent of similar acts against ICTs in the United States at campuses in 1970 (Edwards, 1996): in both cases ICTs were attacked both for their practical role in powerful regimes, whether global capitalism or the military-industrial complex (Edwards, 1996). This second Thessaloniki attack was distinct, however, by virtue of it being rationalised *post hoc* in a blog (Think Tank Για Την Ανατροπή Του Υπαρχοντος, 2009).

These acts of resistance suggest both challenge to the hegemony of ICTs and the complexity of resistance towards them: the violence at the liberal studies centre entailed use of another ICT. The

act of resistance at Aristotle University was in pursuit of a service ultimately provided by the very same ICT: the University's central server. WiMAX networks may have enabled the universal internet access this group so desired, but more generally these could themselves be objects of resistance from environmentalists or those for whom silence and retreat are essential elements of their way of life. These two acts of resistance reveal the importance of considering whether the locus of resistance is really an ICT in itself and how ICTs can themselves enable resistance.

1.2 Conceptualising resistance and ICTs

As a transitive verb, 'resist' has a subject and takes a direct object. This grammatical fact, basic though it is, is a key to understanding extant research on resistance to ICTs. What precisely is being resisted is important in researching resistance. This is not always straightforward, as shown by the examples from Thessaloniki. The subject who displays resistance behaviour is clearly important also. Usually in research on resistance to ICTs the subject has been an individual (Marakas and Hornik, 1996), less commonly a group (Markus, 1983) and very rarely an organisation (Ang and Pavri, 1994). This is significant because an organisation, existing to serve a specific purpose and structured in a particular way, is a very different resisting subject: as a meso-level social unit it will itself comprise individuals and groups.

Research on resistance to ICTs has tended to focus on either the subject or the object of resistance. However, resistance to ICTs is contingent upon the networks and circumstances in which and by which the technology is embedded, rather than the technology or the people who use it *per se*. In her classic conceptualisation of resistance to ICTs Markus (1983) contrasts the interaction category of resistance research with research which views resistance to ICTs as a consequence of the deficits of either the ICT or its intended users. Ascribing resistance to 'individual deficits' (Selwyn, 2003: 101) – whether material, cognitive or psychological – suggests a lack on the part of the resistor, and tends towards being pejorative. In contrast, interaction theories suggest that resistance arises from the interaction of people and an ICT in a specific place at a particular time. At other times and

in other places, the same ICT might be readily embraced, or the same people might readily embrace another ICT.

Markus (1983) divides interaction resistance research into two variants: the socio-technical and the political. Most recent examples of the political variant, which links resistance to power, are found in the health sector. Studies have found physicians and/or nurses resisting ICTs as the different way of working embodied in an ICT can be perceived as threatening to their professional identity and autonomy (Prasad and Prasad, 2000; Timmons, 2003; Bhattacharjee and Hikmet, 2007) or in conflict with the care ethic intrinsic to their profession (Wilson, 2002). This suggests that it is not the technology itself which is being resisted, but the effects of the technology.

Existing research focuses on resistance to fixed information systems. The convergence of fixed and mobile networks disrupts a simple calculation of the relative threat or opportunity of a new ICT as they are increasingly flexible in terms of the services they can enable. Until recently different end-user services, such as telephone and electronic mail (email), had different ways of transferring signals from sender to recipient, and, often, different physical infrastructure such as cables underground (see figure 1.1 below). Now, these vertically integrated, but horizontally distinct domains have converged. It is possible to make a telephone call via one's internet service provider (ISP) using Skype; it is possible to access the internet via one's mobile phone. As a consequence, separate communication technologies and information technologies have become information *and* communication technologies. In this thesis I therefore embrace of all these, as well as the software they enable, as ICTs.

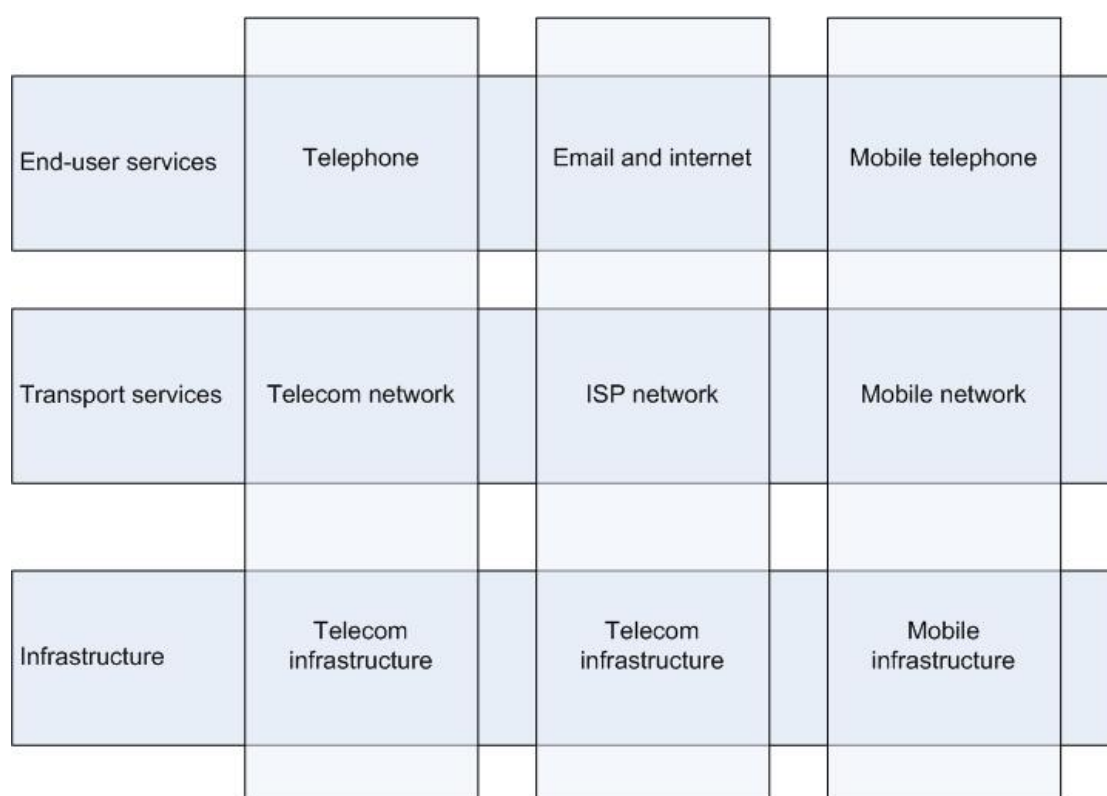


Figure 1.1 Traditional divisions between networks (reproduction of Bouwman, 2005: 31)

Findings from studies on resistance to fixed information systems may not transfer to the mobile object. For example, although physicians were found to resist information systems, they were one of the first professions to – seemingly willingly (Wood, 1990) – adopt pagers. Other professions, such as community health visitors and practitioners (Amicus, 2002), have even demanded mobile technologies on the basis that general practitioners possess them. Although more recent research on smartphones has found that organisationally-provided mobile technologies can provoke resentment (Russell, 2008), there is still little resistance, if any, to their initial adoption. As such, they may be seen as a sign of status at least as much as one of oppression.

Interestingly, the fixed information systems which featured in these health sector studies (Prasad and Prasad, 2000; Wilson, 2002; Timmons, 2003; Bhattacharjee and Hikmet, 2007) were designed and delivered bespoke. Outside of the health sector, where there are major projects in various countries on electronic patient records, there are only a few other domains, such as aerospace and

the military, where this is the case. Mobile technologies, in contrast, are purchased off-the-shelf. As such there is little scope to influence their design, particularly by small organisations with limited resources. However, it is also the case that, due to their mobile and relatively straightforward nature, mobile technologies allow more discretion and creativity in use. Within organisational contexts (Russell, 2008) and without, users have developed their own app(lication)s.

Certainly outside of the organisational context, some such apps serve as a tool for users to resist the power being wielded over them, for instance the Stop and Search UK app written for the Blackberry (Brown, 2012). This enables those stopped by police and searched, the criteria for which is only suspicion of illegal activity, to exert their rights and report their experience. It includes the function to log an incident, including the police officer's unique number, the location and their experience and also to read their legal rights and the police's legal limits. Those stopped by the police have also taken to using their smartphone's camera to record the incident. Such micro-level, individual or small group, embrace of ICTs to challenge meso-level, organisational, power has not passed without reaction. For example, police have been accused of confiscating and destroying mobiles, and of advising that filming in public is illegal (Hind, 2013).

What little research there has been on resistance to ICTs has focused on micro-level resistance to meso-level ICT initiatives. Indeed, Lapointe and Rivard (2007) developed a framework for exploring micro-level resistance to ICTs which revealed the importance of the level and longitudinal aspects of ICT adoption. Meso-level resistance to micro-level ICT initiatives, as in this example of the police, and meso-level resistance to macro-level ICT initiatives, as in the examples from Thessaloniki, has largely been neglected. Such meso-level resistance to ICTs is the focus of this thesis.

1.3 Research questions

Key themes emerge from the extant literature and recent, complex, examples of resistance such as those in Greece. The first is the level at which resistance occurs in an organisation. De Certeau (1984) distinguishes between 'tactics' and 'strategies' of resistance. Strategies require collective

control of (some) time and place and, to appropriate de Certeau's simile from warfare, are like those arrived at by generals surveying the scene. In contrast, guerrilla warriors pounce on opportunities as they arise (de Certeau, 1984). From what we know, the simile of guerrilla warriors employing tactics of resistance towards ICTs seems most apt. If a general, at the meso-level of an organisation, was to employ a strategy of resistance towards ICTs it would be interesting to see if this resistance might itself prompt others beneath him to adopt tactics of resistance in an effort to resist this resistance.

The second theme is the potential for conflict between the structure, form or *weltanschauung* (Checkland and Scholes, 1990) embodied in the artefact and that of certain organisations or professions. The Think Tank for the Overthrow of Existence, grounded in localism and socialism, resisted ICTs as embodiments of globalisation and capitalism. Nurses or physicians, committed to an ethic of care, resisted ICTs as embodiments of bureaucratic interference and control.

Such resistance, of course, is not straightforward. The group 'outside the University' at Aristotle University sabotaged the central computer lab in pursuit of a service ultimately provided by the very same lab. The Think Tank for the Overthrow of Existence took responsibility for their attack on computers via computers. Healthcare professionals have resisted information systems and yet embraced and demanded mobile technologies. Therefore, a third theme is the difference in reaction to different ICTs by the same organisation or profession. This is related to the second in that it may well be what an ICT has come to represent that incites resistance, not the technology *per se*.

In view of these emergent themes, it would be interesting to explore organisations where there are: strategies as well as tactics of resistance; distinct *weltanschauung* and codes of practice; and mobile and off-the-shelf technologies. It would be even more interesting to then go on and explore how these themes converge and impact on each other. Organisations are, of course, heterogeneous. Due to the constraints of a doctoral thesis, I cannot answer for how these objects

and subjects come together in all organisations and at all times. In this thesis I therefore adopt and adapt a conceptual approach as a tool for analysis of what is going on; an approach which can be applied to a variety of organisational types. This I introduce in section 1.4 with the work of Mouzelis (1995; 2008) on whose ideas this approach is based. To apply the conceptual approach, I needed to pick a fertile fieldwork site to yield enough of a rich picture so as to be able to see how the concepts interact. The organisation I chose, a monastery in the Monks' Republic of Mount Athos in northern Greece, is introduced in more detail in section 1.5.

Informed by these three themes, and the lacuna of research in resistance to ICTs – meso-level resistance – identified in section 1.2, the primary research question (RQ) I asked of that site was what determines the nature and extent of organisational resistance to ICTs? Answering this primary research question necessitates addressing a number of subsidiary questions. My first subsidiary question (SQ1) is how can resistance to ICTs be conceptualised? In answering this question I found the extant frameworks largely inadequate for understanding meso-level resistance to ICTs and thus developed my own conceptual approach. This approach suggests a further three subsidiary questions, each of which relate to one of Mouzelis' dimensions of social practice, described in section 1.4. My second subsidiary question (SQ2) is how do the structures and functions of an organisation impact on, or relate to, resistance to ICTs? In other words, how the power distribution and the roles and responsibilities of the monks intersect with ICTs. My third subsidiary question (SQ3) is how do the field and doxa of the organisation and the habitus and capitals of the individuals within it impact on, or relate to, resistance to ICTs? In other words, how the monastic setting and the formation of these particular monks interact with ICTs. My fourth subsidiary question (SQ4) is what constellations of positions and dispositions form and evolve? In other words, how the answers to the previous two subsidiary questions transform over time. For ease of reference, these questions are presented in figure 1.2 below.

Type	ID	Question
Primary research question	RQ	What determines the nature and extent of organisational resistance to ICTs?
First subsidiary question	SQ1	How can resistance to ICTs be conceptualised?
Second subsidiary question	SQ2	How do the structures and functions of an organisation impact on, or relate to, resistance to ICTs?
Third subsidiary question	SQ3	How do the field and <i>doxa</i> of the organisation and the <i>habitus</i> and capitals of the individuals within it impact on, or relate to, resistance to ICTs?
Fourth subsidiary question	SQ4	What constellations of positions and dispositions form and evolve?

Figure 1.2 My research questions

1.4 Theoretical approach

Having developed these research questions, my next task was to adopt and adapt strands of theory to unpick this intricate tapestry. As already noted in this chapter, and to be elaborated in the next, resistance to ICTs is a complex interaction of structure and agency, human and non-human (f)actors. I found the extant frameworks largely inadequate for understanding meso-level resistance to ICTs and thus developed my own conceptual approach by directly mining the sociological canon for resources to help me address my research questions.

The direction of my tunnelling was shaped, of course, by my intellectual formation. Whilst an undergraduate reading theology at the University of Oxford (1997-2000) I became influenced, as well as challenged, by the postmodern turn. Especially significant was the contemporary British theologian Cupitt's (1986; 1987) literal misappropriation of Derrida's statement, potentially

mistranslated by Spivak, that: 'There is nothing outside the text' (Derrida and Spivak, 1976: 158). In my undergraduate thesis I argued: 'Derrida did not mean that there is only text but that we know in and through language' (Russell, 2000: 15). Such a meaning sits comfortably with the apophatic theological tradition – or *via negativa* – which stretches back at least as far as Pseudo-Dionysius the Areopagite and Saint Maximus the Confessor in the fifth and sixth centuries. My work, supervised by Father David Moss, was part of a broader school of thought, 'Radical Orthodoxy' (Milbank et al., 1998), which sought to be faithful to the theological tradition of the Church in responding to the postmodern turn. Likewise, when I approached the sociological canon I felt the need to engage, authentically, with the tradition of the discipline and yet respond to the contemporary current of postmodernism. In Mouzelis (1995; 2008) I found a kindred attempt to bridge this, potential, divide.

My resulting conceptual framework helped me to connect the micro-, meso- and macro-levels with power and resistance. It consisted of three different dimensions of social practice, each related to one of my last three subsidiary research questions (SQ2-SQ4). Each dimension was drawn from a different tradition of social thought, although they have previously been synthesised in the work of Mouzelis (1995; 2008). Each dimension provided relevant insights but by itself was inadequate. By using all three dimensions together, it was possible to connect micro-level agency-centred analysis, via meso-level analysis, to macro-level structure-centred analysis.

The first, positional, dimension constitutes a classical, macro-level down approach and is derived from Parsons (1951; 1951; 1953; 1956; 1960b; 1960a; 1961). It is concerned with the normative expectations of someone performing a particular role. These expectations in part relate to the position of an individual in an organisational hierarchy. However, they primarily relate to the function that role performs in a social system. Parsons identifies four functions which any social system – whether macro-, meso- or micro-level – must perform: adaptation (economic), goal-attainment (political), integration (legal) and latent pattern maintenance (religious or familial). As

social systems differentiate, one function will become dominant, and its logic will also shape the normative expectations of roles in the other three functions. Mouzelis (1995) broadly accepts this approach, although he considers that attention needs to be paid to non-normative interests as well; to do this he turns to Pierre Bourdieu.

Bourdieu developed the concept of *habitus* (1990) to encompass the mental patterns of perception, appreciation and action that an actor acquires. This concept is the foundation of my second, dispositional, dimension, derived from Bourdieu (1962; 1977; 1977; 1983; 1985; 1986; 1988; 1989; 1990; 1991; 1992; 1992; 1998; 2010). *Habitus* does not reduce an actor's agency to the norms, roles and responsibilities imposed upon them (as in Mouzelis' reading of Parsons): their dispositions are distinct from their position. Mouzelis considers that this, dispositional dimension, is also useful, but insufficient. He argues that there is the possibility of intra-*habitus* contradictions and conscious, strategic action resulting from one's *habitus*; so as to incorporate this into his synthesis he turns to Norbert Elias.

Elias developed the concept of figuration (1978; 1978; 2000; 2007b; 2007a; 2008; 2008a; 2010) to capture the specific context of a social activity or relationship in which the normative expectations and the *habitus* are activated. This concept is the foundation of my third, figural, dimension. Situating an individual within wider social networks of interdependencies emphasises the dynamic nature of such networks and interdependencies. In each relationship power is inherent, but the balance of power will differ across an individual's relationships and across time within each relationship (Elias et al., 1978). This figural dimension thus permits a greater degree of transformation than the positional and dispositional dimensions where the emphasis, even in the latter (Nash, 2003), is still on reproduction of structures.

It has been said to me (as explored in section 8.3), that Parsons and Elias are incompatible, and certainly it can be more generally argued that the positional and figural 'paradigms' are incommensurate (Burrell, 1999). My view, which I realise in this thesis, is that they are neither

commensurate nor incommensurate. They are not commensurate in that one cannot be reduced to, or replicated in, the language of the other. In this thesis they feature as tools to help construct answers to separate research questions and do so in different chapters. However, of course, the fact that I am using these theorists together belies my pluralist, not devotional or relativist (Hassard, 1993), perspective. I have combined the dimensions as parallel columns in a single diagram (see, for example, figure 7.6), rather as Butler et al (2003) did for different paradigms, where I seek to plot the frontiers between macro-level power and meso-level resistance and between meso-level power and micro-level resistance. If, as I think, each of the three dimensions is itself insufficient, but together add depth to our picture, helping us to see what I believe to be beyond the text, then the criticism of combining the incompatible is one I am happy to take.

Despite Mouzelis' synthesis of these three dimensions in a pragmatic, heuristic approach it is, in fact, relatively untested empirically, certainly in relation to ICTs. The empirical work outlined in the next section enabled Mouzelis' approach to be more extensively assessed as well as my research questions to be answered.

1.5 Fieldwork site and research practice

Having identified an issue to explore, resistance towards ICTs at the meso-level of an organisation, and a lens with which to do so, I had then to find an appropriate organisation. Resistance is generally difficult to discern (Collinson and Ackroyd, 2005) and even more so when there is such a dominant discourse in favour of increasingly pervasive and ubiquitous ICTs, as explored in section 1.1. If such discourse manipulates people; if it is presented as a voice of authority and reason, conflict may not be apparent. To discover a chink in such armour requires close and detailed study, and a prevailing possibility of its existence.

I chose to hunt around for such resistance in the Monks' Republic of Mount Athos in northern Greece. The particular monastery I selected from the twenty that constitute the Republic had chosen to resist the ICTs offered, and enabled, by the Hellenic Telecommunications Organisation

(OTE). OTE were using the mountain as a trial site for their WiMAX network technology, potentially enabling Mount Athos to be 'informed' (Zuboff, 1988), incorporated into the information society, for the first time. Previously, the long distances to a fixed-line telephone exchange and to a data-enabled mobile phone mast meant for sporadic, at best, internet connectivity. I chose such a macro-level initiative as it enabled study of a resisting organisation as opposed to resisting individuals or small groups of individuals. As explained in section 1.2, an organisation is a very different resisting subject.

A monastery of monks resisting information communication technologies is particularly interesting for a number of reasons. First, they had not previously had the opportunity to access the internet at the monastery through a fixed or mobile connection. In studies of the adoption of mobile telephony, the relative absence of landline telephony, for instance in Africa, may incentivise adoption (Ling, 2004) but only to the extent that a need has been established. Second, as a religious organisation the monastery is based on a particular way of knowing and being: a monastic epistemology and ontology. Together these can be called the *doxa* of the community. Monks are expected to be more concerned with the spiritual as opposed to the material and might therefore be somewhat sceptical of the 'sensuousness' (Marx and Engels, [1867] 1974: 163) of information and communication commodities, viewing them as a material temptation or distraction. Monks have their own value systems; amongst another professional group, social workers, the importance of an external value system, independent of management, has been identified as inclining them towards resisting authority (Joyce et al., 1988). Monks' value systems may feature similarly, although in this case inclining them towards resisting ICTs rather than authority. This *doxa*, as well as contrasting with that of the global internet-enabled village, also grants the organisation a certain boundedness. Such an organisation may well be capable of defending itself from the diffusion of ICTs into its territory.

As an organisation somewhat out of the way and overlooked, it lends itself to, and indeed requires, ethnography. This also enables the capturing of enactments with technology as well as the recording of interpretations of it. Matusik and Mickel consider this important because of the possible discrepancies between the two (2011). Monks' interpretations were recorded in interviews and their enactments were captured via participant observation. Being a *participant observer* in this context meant, for me, eight hours of manual labour during the daytime, eight hours of church attendance in the early evening and (very) early morning and, in between, eight hours of rest, to include eating and conversing with the community and sleeping in a dormitory with the other guests. Being a *participant observer* in this context meant recording notes as and when I could: by torchlight at night, in short breaks during the day. Such notes were, by necessity, handwritten: voice (and video) recording is prohibited on the mountain and the lack of electricity in the guest accommodation rendered ICTs quickly redundant. All but one of the forty monks resident in 2009 were interviewed at least once, most in multiple interview-fragments as work permitted. They were not observed equally for my participant role required more interaction with some and less with others. However, this was mitigated by my relative relief from manual labour on my final visit, having previously proved myself, literally, in the field, which enabled me to move more freely in the monastery and focus my participant observation on areas of research interest. A multi-episode longitudinal ethnography was important due to the limitation of data collected at one point in time which does not enable evolution in interpretations and enactments to be captured. For this reason, Matusik and Mickel, having themselves collected data at only one point in time, suggest future research on mobile technologies should be longitudinal in nature (2011). To address this need, I made four trips to the mountain, of approximately twelve nights each, between November 2008 and April 2010 and one final trip of four nights in July 2015.

A point to remember in reading this thesis is that I was to a large extent an insider. Being male gave me actual access to the monastery. Being, in addition, an Orthodox Christian gave me empathy with the monks and access to the central spaces of their communal life: services in the Church and

meals in the refectory. Being, further, an academic specialising in ICTs enabled me to secure access of sufficient duration to get close to the monks, their enactments and their interpretations. Together with my past employment in telecommunications research and development, and my new employment as a Head of Department, the case of the meso-level of a monastery resisting a WiMAX network, and the information and communication possibilities it could bring, was also particularly interesting personally. However, I was not a complete insider for I am neither Greek nor an Orthodox Christian under the Œcumenical Patriarchate of Constantinople, the patriarchate under whose oversight the monks of Mount Athos reside. I believe that being close, but not too close, to the object of my study meant that I could collect sufficiently rich data to inform analysis, and to be sufficiently critical in such analysis so as to answer my research questions.

1.6 Overview of the thesis

I have introduced two Greek examples of resistance to ICTs contemporary to the fieldwork of this thesis and identified three key elements common to them and my fieldwork site, Mount Athos: meso-level, organisational, resistance; conflict between the structure, form or *weltanschauung* embodied in ICTs and that of the organisation; and difference in reaction to different ICTs by the same organisation. From these elements I derived my research questions, the primary one (RQ) being: what determines the nature and extent of organisational resistance to ICTs? Answering this primary research question necessitates answering four subsidiary questions (SQ1-SQ4). I then went on to outline relevant tools and strands of theory – chapters 2 and 3 in microcosm – followed by my fieldwork approach and research practice – chapter 4 in microcosm – before here providing an overview of the thesis.

This introductory chapter is followed by two chapters which use the literature to build my argument and develop concepts and tools to help answer my research questions. The two differ in their source literature: chapter 2 engages with the extant literature specifically about resistance towards ICTs; chapter 3 mines the sociological canon to go beyond it. In chapter 2 I therefore

examine, critique and develop concepts and tools from the extant literature to help understand what determines the nature and extent of resistance to ICTs at the meso-level of an organisation. Such tools and concepts are generally concerned with micro-level resistance to meso-level and/or macro-level ICT initiatives and thus need refinement and extension to serve this thesis. The chapter is structured around my four subsidiary research questions (SQ1-SQ4). First, therefore, I consider how can resistance to ICTs has been conceptualised (SQ1). This thesis aligns with the interaction category of resistance research identified by Markus (1983), specifically her political variant, where crucial to understanding resistance to ICTs is both how the subject and object of resistance interact and their siting in broader power relations. This insight informs the thesis, rather than the specific power model of Markus (1983), or its revision by Lapointe and Rivard (2005), which reflect micro-level resistance. Second, I consider how the structures and functions of an organisation have been discerned to impact on, or relate to, resistance to ICTs (SQ2). I conclude that Orlikowski's structurational model of technology (1992) is most applicable in this context, despite, in its applications to date, seeming to underplay the influence of structure on agency. Third, I consider how the field and *doxa* of the organisation and the *habitus* and capitals of the individuals within it have impacted on, or related to, resistance to ICTs (SQ3). I conclude that although some concepts, such as those of Rogers (2003), and some models, such as UTAUT (Venkatesh et al., 2003) may be of limited use, further exploration of Bourdieu's capitals, explored in a different context with respect to the digital divide (Kvasny and Keil, 2006), may ultimately prove more fruitful. Fourth, I consider what constellations of positions and dispositions have formed and evolved in other contexts (SQ4). I conclude that the particular components of Lapointe and Rivard's (2007) framework may not suit meso-level as opposed to micro-level resistance, ICTs as opposed to bespoke IS, or monasteries as opposed to hospitals. However, of relevance to this study, the framework shows the importance of the level and longitudinal aspects of ICT resistance.

In chapter 3 I adopt and adapt strands of theory, synthesising them to form a conceptual framework that can be used to explore meso-level resistance to ICTs. This framework dovetails

with my conclusion to chapter 2 that the political variant of interaction research on resistance to ICTs is the most fruitful and of assistance in answering my research questions. Similarly to chapter 2, this chapter is structured around my four subsidiary research questions (SQ1-SQ4). First, therefore, I consider how meso-level resistance to ICTs can be conceptualised (SQ1). I identify three different dimensions of social practice, drawing upon the re-envisioning of Parsons, Bourdieu and Elias found in Mouzelis (1995; 2008) that could be used to explore power and resistance in organisations with reference to macro-, meso- and micro-level actors. Second, I consider how the structures and functions of an organisation can be discerned to impact on, or relate to, resistance to ICTs (SQ2). I identify the positional dimension of social practice, derived from Parsons (1951; 1951; 1953; 1956; 1960b; 1960a; 1961), concerned with the normative expectations of someone performing a particular role, as a means to do this. Third, I consider how the field and *doxa* of the organisation and the *habitus* and capitals of the individuals within it can be discerned to impact on, or relate to, resistance to ICTs (SQ3). I identify as relevant the dispositional dimension of social practice, derived from Bourdieu (1962; 1977; 1977; 1983; 1985; 1986; 1988; 1989; 1990; 1991; 1992; 1992; 1998; 2010), concerned with the mental patterns of perception, appreciation and action that an individual brings to bear upon a particular situation; what Bourdieu terms *habitus*. Fourth, I consider how constellations of positions and dispositions can be discerned to form and evolve (SQ4). I identify as relevant the figural dimension of social practice, derived from Elias (1978; 1978; 2000; 2007b; 2007a; 2008; 2008a; 2010), concerned with the specific context of a social activity in which the normative expectations and the *habitus* are activated.

How and where I apply this conceptual framework is the focus of chapter 4 where I explain, justify and reflect upon my practice in researching meso-level resistance to ICTs. I begin by narrowing down my choice of fieldwork site by reference to my conceptual framework. Having identified a fit with monasteries I then select the broad context of the Monks' Republic of Mount Athos in northern Greece because of the contemporaneous significance of my research questions there. My choice of monastic fieldwork site is justified by it being representative of the 'mainstream' of

Mount Athos in all respects other than its resistance to ICTs. Ethnography is chosen as the most appropriate means of generating appropriate qualitative data: it suits resistance, which as a complex, contextual and often covert phenomenon is hard to identify through other approaches; it suits the study of engagement with ICTs, as demonstrated through its use in relevant studies cited in chapter 2; it suits the logistical constraints of conducting fieldwork in a total institution somewhat out of the way and overlooked. However, it does bring with it the limitation of deep, detailed, nuanced knowledge of a specific site which may not be generalizable to other contexts. I then describe how I prepared, negotiated, participated and conversed in order to collect data – and in doing so, discuss the challenges entailed and the counter-measures adopted. The act and art of writing my ethnography, from capturing my observations and interactions and to constructing this thesis is considered, including issues such as the low-tech form that data capture necessarily took. Next, I consider the ethical issues in, and implications of, my research. The institution has been anonymised and given an appropriate pseudonym (IM meaning Holy Monastery in Greek) as have all of the individuals who were interviewed (names of Orthodox Saints from Great Britain and Ireland). Finally, looking forward to the following empirical chapters, I introduce the cast of characters.

Chapters 5, 6 and 7 integrate the results of my fieldwork with critical analysis and discussion. These chapters are structured by my conceptual framework, a provisional answer to my first subsidiary question (SQ1), in that each focuses on one of the three dimensions of social practice. In so doing they answer my three remaining subsidiary questions (SQ2-SQ4). I start in chapter 5 by answering my second subsidiary question (SQ2): how do the structures and functions of an organisation impact on, or relate to, resistance to ICTs? In other words, it considers the positional dimension of an Athonite monastery. The chapter answers the question through dialogue between my ethnographic data, which emerged through pursuing the methodology described in chapter 4, and the work of Mouzelis and Parsons, explored in detail in chapter 3, together with the relevant tools and concepts identified from the extant literature, explored in detail in chapter 2, especially that

of Orlikowski (1992). It begins by considering the position of IM vis-à-vis macro-level institutions outside the Holy Mountain and other meso-level organisations within it, via application of Parsons' AGIL schema, relating this to resistance towards ICTs. Next it drills down to meso- and micro-level relations by expanding the latent pattern maintenance function. The particular focus is IM, both in terms of its internal functions and its relations to the adaption, goal-attainment and integration functions of the Holy Community as a whole. The normative role expectations within IM of the Abbot, Council of Elders and other monks are explored through these functions, again relating this to resistance towards ICTs for instance, opposition to the erection of a mobile phone mast upon the monastery's land. I find that there is incomplete differentiation between the functions of IM, and further, that to the extent the functions are distinct, latent pattern maintenance dominates the others. I then apply Mouzelis' technological, appropriative and ideological spheres in place of the AGIL schema at the micro-level of analysis. As identified in chapter 3, this means, for ICTs, applying the extant model of the duality of technology (Orlikowski, 1992). I conclude that they complement each other, AGIL helping to explain meso-level resistance towards ICTs and t'a'i' helping to reveal micro-level resistance towards this meso-level resistance.

In chapter 6 I add the dispositional dimension of social practice, for the monks are not just regulated, as in the positional dimension, but informed and constructed too. In doing this I answer my third subsidiary question (SQ3): how do the field and *doxa* of the organisation and the *habitus* and capitals of the individuals within it impact on, or relate to, resistance to ICTs? I first explore the general monastic *habitus*, especially the (re)formation of monastic identity via daily and seasonal rituals. Such a *habitus* (re)produces religious and spiritual capital (Bourdieu, 1991; Mouzelis, 1995), but social, economic and cultural capital, including computer skills, are also significant for resistance towards, and engagement with, ICTs. The monks' patterns of perception and appreciation are not just shaped by their socialisation after their initiation into the monastery. For some monks the monastic *habitus* of IM can conflict with their prior, pre-Athos, *habitus*, manifested through variation in the distribution of capitals. Together these shape the resulting

field and monks' interpretations of ICTs. Ultimately I concur with Mouzelis that intra-*habitus* contradictions (recognised by Mouzelis but not Bourdieu) can exist in addition to friction or conflict between positions and dispositions.

In chapter 7 I add the figurational dimension of social practice to the positional and dispositional dimensions. I explore how resistance to, and engagement with, ICTs exist as a result of normative expectations (positional) and *habitus* (dispositional) playing out in this particular place. In doing so I answer my fourth subsidiary question: what constellations of positions and dispositions, human subjects and technological objects form and evolve? I begin by exploring current and historic figurations of meso-level resistance towards macro-level power, specifically IM and its Abbot with the Holy Community and Vodafone. These also reveal the importance of monastic *habiti* elsewhere of which the monks of IM are aware and which form meso-level figurations with IM. Next I focus on figurations of micro-level monks within IM and their meso-level Abbot, figurations in part informed by monastic *habiti* elsewhere, but primarily influenced by the profile of their dispositions delimited in the previous chapter. The parallel community of non-monastic workers, which forms a micro-level figuration with the monastic community of IM, is then explored. Ultimately I concur with Mouzelis that conscious, strategic action resulting from one's *habitus* (recognised by Mouzelis but not Bourdieu) is possible, although found to be relatively infrequent in this social context.

In chapter 8 I bring together the answers to my research questions, commencing with answers to my subsidiary questions (SQ1-SQ4) and culminating with an answer to my primary research question where I state this thesis' contribution to the body of knowledge. Having provided a brief summation and explanation of the key findings in the context of this thesis, I then reflect on the limitations of my research, both theoretical and methodological. Next I unearth an unexpected finding before I address my primary research question and offer some comments on the significance of this original piece of research and its contribution to the body of knowledge.

In chapter 9 I look beyond this thesis. I begin by suggesting opportunities to take my thesis forward, whether regarding use of my work as it stands by others, potential for empirical extension or theoretical development of my existing work by the work of others (Goffman, 1961b; Asad, 1987; Foucault et al., 1988; Foucault and Rabinow, 1997). I then outline what potential pitfalls may be waiting for others wanting to follow in my footsteps, reprising and consolidating the key things I have learned through this process. Finally, I mention the benefits I received from conducting this research and reflect back on the thesis' title.

Chapter 2

Researching Resistance to ICTs at the Meso-level of an Organisation

To create is to resist, to resist is to create

(Hessel, 2011: 40)

2.1 Introduction

Chapter 1 began by introducing two Greek exemplars of resistance to ICTs contemporary to the fieldwork of this thesis: an attack on Aristotle University's central server by an anarchist radio-broadcasting group and another on the computer lab of the liberal studies centre by The Think Tank for the Overthrow of Existence. These featured three key elements of resistance to ICTs. One element was the level of resistance: these were examples of meso-level, organisational, resistance. A second element in the Greek examples was the conflict between the *weltanschauung* embodied in the artefact and that of the organisation. A third element was the difference in reaction to different ICTs by the same organisation. From exploration of these three elements I derived my research questions.

This chapter explores the extant academic literature on resistance to ICTs for ideas which may be useful in answering my primary research question (RQ): what determines the nature and extent of organisational resistance to ICTs? It is structured by my subsidiary research questions. Section 2.2 considers what literature can help to answer my first subsidiary question (SQ1): how can resistance to ICTs be conceptualised? I explore the potential contribution of the power model of Markus (1983) and its revision by Lapointe and Rivard (2005). The potential contribution of the latter model established, each of the subsequent sections starts by considering the relevance of the work of Lapointe and Rivard (2005; 2007) to answering my remaining subsidiary questions. Section 2.3 considers the literature of use in answering my second subsidiary question (SQ2): how do the structures and functions of an organisation impact on, or relate to, resistance to ICTs? I begin by

considering Mintzberg's (1979) notions of professional organisations, especially as previously applied by Lapointe and Rivard (2007), but go on to conclude that Orlikowski's structural model of technology (1992) is more applicable. Section 2.4 considers the literature of use in addressing my third subsidiary question (SQ3): how do the field and *doxa* of the organisation and the *habitus* and capitals of the individuals within it impact on, or relate to, resistance to ICTs? Taking Lapointe and Rivard (2007) as its starting point this section discusses the literature which engages with the importance and impact of individuals' characteristics on ICT adoption and resistance. In section 2.5 I turn to the literature useful in answering my fourth subsidiary question (SQ4): what constellations of positions and dispositions form and evolve? I consider the potential contribution of Lapointe and Rivard's (2007) attempt to construct a framework that provides for the longitudinal and multilevel aspects of resistance to ICTs.

2.2 Conceptualising resistance

In this section I consider what literature can help to answer my first subsidiary question (SQ1): how can resistance to ICTs be conceptualised? To do this I explore and evaluate the extant conceptualisations of resistance to ICTs. Before evaluating these, however, it is important I first conceptualise *research* on resistance to ICTs so as to place the models explored later in the broader literature on resistance to ICTs.

As a transitive verb, 'resist' has a subject and takes a direct object. This grammatical fact is a key to understanding research on resistance to ICTs. What precisely is being resisted is not always evident: sometimes it is not the technology itself but, rather, its effects. For example, industrial unrest in the 1980s at News International has been attributed to the implications of digitised newspaper printing for the continued employment of typesetters, rather than opposition to the technology in itself (Marjoribanks, 2000). The subject who displays resistance behaviour is clearly important also. Usually in research on resistance to ICTs the resisting subject has been an individual (Marakas and

Hornik, 1996), less commonly a group (Markus, 1983) and very rarely an organisation (Ang and Pavri, 1994).

Research has tended to focus on either the subject or the object of resistance. Markus (1983) categorises the former as people-determined approaches and the latter as system-determined approaches. People-determined approaches typically view resistance to ICTs as a consequence of the deficits of the people involved, whilst system-determined approaches tend to view resistance as a consequence of the deficits of the system itself. Neither approach has paid much attention to the social or the political; that which does is categorised by Markus as being of the interaction approach, which suggests that resistance arises from the interaction between the characteristics of the system *and* of the people intended to use it in a specific place at a particular time. At other times and in other places the same system might be readily embraced, or the same people might readily embrace another system.

Markus (1983) identifies two variants of research within the interaction approach. One is the socio-technical which contends that the distribution of functions and responsibilities in an organisation impacts on, and is itself impacted by, ICTs. A key exponent of the socio-technical variant is Mumford (1983), a contemporary of Markus, who outlined an approach for the Effective Technical and Human Implementation of Computer Systems (ETHICS). This approach built upon her work at the Tavistock Institute together with a number of action research projects undertaken with trade union participation in Norway, Sweden and Denmark in the 1970s and early 1980s with the intention of designing information systems to fit with the needs of labour. Projects were undertaken in iron and metal work (Nygaard, 1979), engine-repair workshops (Ehn et al., 1983; Ehn, 1988) and the typesetting industry (Bødker and et al., 1987). These project teams consisted of trade union and employer representatives, together with academics facilitated by government-sponsored social research institutes such as the National Centre for Working Lives in Stockholm. This so-called 'Scandinavian Approach' to information systems development has been the source

– or prompt – for subsequent literature concerned with information systems and trade unions (e.g. Kraft and Bansler, 1994; Kyng, 1994; Beck, 2002; Christiansen, 2003). However, this approach has been described as ‘a product of a particular socio-political regime’ (Avgerou, 2002: 55) – consensus-based social democracy – that is now defunct. More recent neoliberal regimes have withdrawn funding for such initiatives, resulting, for example, in the closure of the National Centre for Working Lives in Stockholm (Westerholm, 2007).

The political variant of the interaction approach to resistance suggests that the distribution of intra-organisational power impacts on, and is itself impacted by, ICTs. According to Markus (1983) such intra-organisational power classically takes the form of hierarchical power, but could also be charisma or specialist knowledge: in short it means, for her, the ability to get one’s way, even in the face of opposition. A new ICT may be intended by senior management to redistribute such power. Any redistribution might be permanent unless those likely to lose out resist it (Markus, 1983). Resistance may be countered by those likely to gain or win from its introduction. Formal hierarchies can legitimate power differences and if the – intended or likely – winner is in a vertically superior position in the intra-organisational hierarchy then resistance is less likely than if the winner is a peer (Markus, 1983). Figure 2.1 shows this in diagrammatic form.

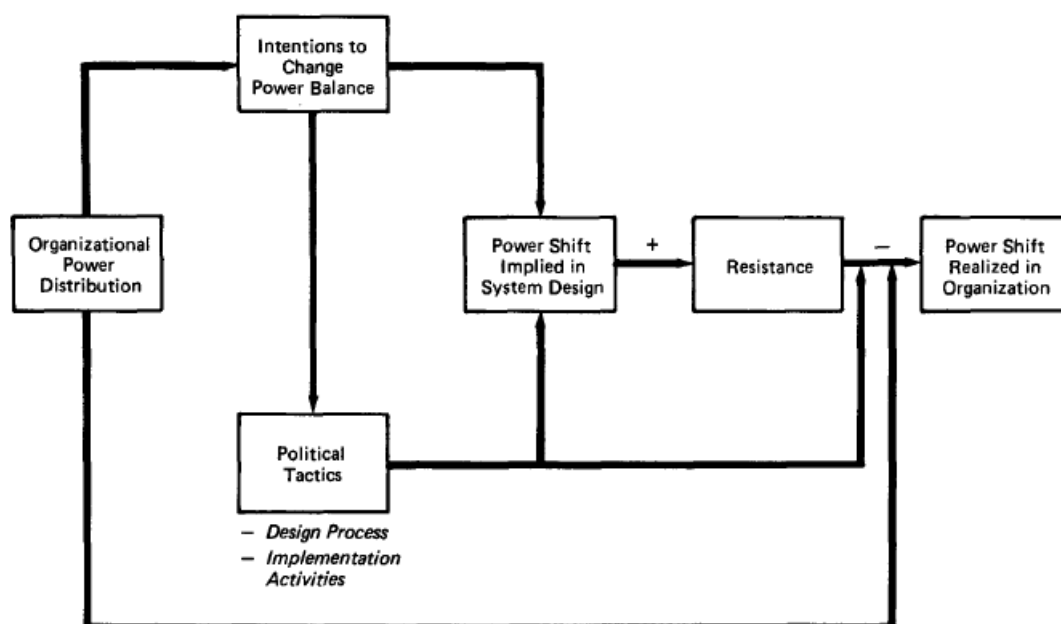


Figure 2.1 A political perspective on resistance to ICTs (Markus, 1983: 443)

Markus (1983) uses the case of the introduction of, and resistance to, a Financial Information System (FIS) that collects and summarises financial data for the Golden Triangle Corporation (GTC) to illustrate the political perspective. The FIS was intended by GTC's corporate accountants to give them power to control access to financial data, although for political purposes, they did not 'immediately reveal these intentions to the divisions' (Markus, 1983: 439). As the picture became clearer FIS met resistance from GTC's divisional accountants, who had until then controlled access to financial data. The divisional accountants continued using their 'thick manual ledger books' (Markus, 1983: 435), in parallel with FIS, and engaged in 'data fudging' (Markus, 1983: 435). This was then countered by a parallel manual reporting requirement and a corporate reorganisation so that the shift in power from GTC's divisional accounting to GTC's corporate accounting was realised.

This political perspective on resistance to ICTs, despite being over thirty years old, still features in contemporary research on resistance to ICTs because other approaches do not 'incorporate the broad spectrum of factors and their respective dimensions as outlined by Markus (1983)' (Joia and

Magalhães, 2009: 4); this means that her 'pioneering work...continues to be the sole benchmark in the treatment of collective behaviour within the scope of the organization' (Joia and Magalhães, 2009: 4). As my research questions are concerned with the organisation in relation to ICTs, and not just the individual, this makes her conceptualisation potentially very relevant. It will be most relevant in three particular circumstances (Markus, 1983). One such is when there is disagreement over organisational goals and values as this obscures what problem an ICT could solve or to what it could contribute. Another is when there is disagreement over the means to achieve such goals – a proposed ICT is unlikely to well-serve all means. And finally when resources are scarce and decisions important, power bases are in short-supply and highly-valued.

The importance of access to information, and power bases, is borne out in later research by Lapointe and Rivard (2005). In their survey of models of resistance to IT implementation they found Markus' to be the only model of resistance to ICTs that uses data from a case study (2005); they determined to test it further through empirical application in hospitals. They found that physicians not only resist systems which diminish their autonomy and decision-making power, but also systems – such as electronic patient records – which simply reveal their behaviour or practices to other groups such as nurses or pharmacists. They also discovered group and longitudinal dimensions to resistance to ICTs. In the early stages of implementation, group resistance may emerge from independent individuals' resistance, a process Lapointe and Rivard (2005) describe as compilation. Group resistance may also emerge in later stages of implementation from the convergence of individuals' resistance, a process they distinguish as composition.

A new ICT may also redistribute power in a completely different, unforeseeable, way to that intended. An example of this is provided by Ferneley (2008) who describes how a plasma screen display of possible traffic-modelling scenarios for use by senior fire service officers at an incident, designed to devolve power to those on the ground from the control room by enabling them to make more decisions, actually took what power senior fire service officers had away from them.

This was because less senior operational staff, seeing one model displayed, would assume it to be the final solution and would act accordingly; if the senior officer subsequently selected a different scenario there would be considerable disquiet. Further, members of the public with sight of the screen would act according to their own interpretation of the model – for example, retrieving their car from a cordoned-off car park if they judged that it was sufficiently far from the highlighted dangers.

Concepts identified in Markus' (1983) model and in Lapointe and Rivard's (2005; 2007) refinement of it can influence the nature and extent of meso-level resistance to ICTs, even though these models are of micro-level resistance to meso-level ICT initiatives. Meso-level actors, just as micro-level actors, may engage with an ICT if it will support their position of power, just as they may resist an ICT if it might undermine their position of power. In the absence of a model for meso-level resistance, they are the most help that the ICT literature offers in conceptualising resistance to ICTs, but they are still insufficient. In the next chapter I therefore look to more general literature to help construct a conceptual framework and answer my first subsidiary question (SQ1) more fully.

For this study I also needed to define resistance more broadly than Markus (1983) and Lapointe and Rivard (2005; 2007). For them, resistance is behaviour with the intent of preventing a technology from being implemented or used. This precludes many cases of technology non-use from being seen as resistance, particularly if they result from apathy, ignorance, inadequate training or fear, rather than an explicit, intentional, attempt to prevent a technology from being implemented or used. I therefore adopted the broader taxonomy of Coetsee (1999), which defines resistance both in terms of its nature, i.e. what it might entail, and its potential extent, i.e. which behaviours it might encompass. He classified resistance behaviours by degree, ranging from apathy through passive and active resistance to aggressive. Apathy encompasses lack of interest, inaction and distance. Passive resistance can entail excuses, delaying tactics or continuing use of a prior ICT. Active resistance includes voicing opposition, asking for intervention and the forming of coalitions.

Aggressive resistance is typified by threats, strikes, boycotts and sabotage. This overlapping continuum of responses approximates to behaviours defined elsewhere as resistance, misbehaviour and dissent (Thompson and Ackroyd, 1995) together with forms of action that don't involve overt conflict (Jaros, 2005). Markus (1983) and Lapointe and Rivard (2005; 2007) not only constrain notions of resistance to a behaviour which intends to prevent a technology from being implemented or used but also to a behaviour with the *capacity* to prevent a technology from being implemented or used i.e. where a group's use of a system is critical to its operation (Markus, 1983). This constraint very much reflects a micro-level perspective; at the meso-level each non-user of a technology may represent a substantial loss of potential revenue for its vendor, whether or not that organisation has the intent or the capacity to prevent its use by others beyond the organisation.

2.3 Structure and functions of organisation

I now consider the extant literature that aids answering my second subsidiary question (SQ2): how do the structures and functions of an organisation impact on, or relate to, resistance to ICTs? In particular, I explore and evaluate the potential of adopting Mintzberg's (1979) considerations about, and model of, professional organisations, especially as previously utilised by Lapointe and Rivard (2007). I then consider Orlikowski's structurational model of technology (1992).

Organisational research on ICTs has tended to use organisation-given nomenclature for structures and functions, with a couple of exceptions. One is the concept of centralised/hierarchical versus decentralised/flat. In some respects ICT implementation 'appear[s] to cause centralization of authority, in others decentralization' (Robey, 1987: 73). This may be because routine decision-making can be delegated to lower levels without senior management losing power (Bjorn-Andersen et al., 1986). In contrast, Ang and Pavri (1994), in their comprehensive literature survey of the impacts of ICTs, conclude that the varying impact of ICTs on organisational structure is due to management's philosophy of the organisation, a conclusion in keeping with that of Cheong and

Hirschheim (1983): ICTs can give senior management the option of a decentralised structure through distributed computing (Storey, 1987) but a highly-structured, bureaucratic, centralised organisation will be unlikely to choose this option unless they wish to change their management philosophy. Another reconciliation of this apparent contradiction is that the generation of information enables organisations, specifically accounting and marketing departments, to better control environmental uncertainty. In one sense this is a decentralisation of power from its traditional locus, senior management, but in another sense it is a shift in the location of centralised control to an emergent techno-structure (Bloomfield and Coombs, 1992), specialists bred by ICTs who possess so-called expert power (Zuboff, 1982).

Beyond this concept of centralised/hierarchical versus decentralised/flat, a second exception – although ‘not fully developed’ (Lapointe and Rivard, 2007: 91) according to its authors – is Lapointe and Rivard’s later model of information systems implementation, which draws upon the work of Mintzberg (1979). Their research was grounded in a notion that ‘most design parameters of a professional bureaucracy favour the emergence of innovations but hinder their routinization’ (Lapointe and Rivard, 2007: 90). Their explicit hypotheses were more specifically informed by meta-analyses of the relationship between organisational factors and innovation (Damanpour, 1987; Damanpour, 1991; Damanpour, 1992). Their fieldwork was conducted in hospitals, the archetype of professional bureaucracies (Kay Downey-Ennis and Denis Harrington, 2002), one of Mintzberg’s five main organisational configurations (Mintzberg, 1979).

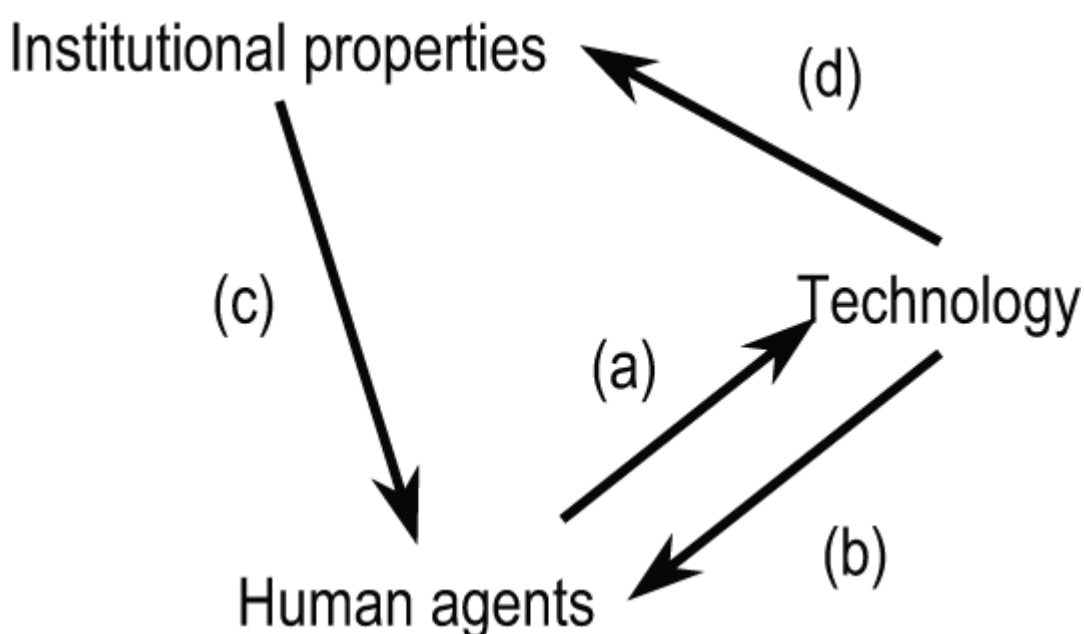
Monasteries, in contrast, are the archetype of missionary organisations, a candidate for a sixth configuration which Mintzberg (1979: 479) describes as: ‘A composite of all five [main] structural configurations.’ It is like a Professional Bureaucracy in that the structure can be highly decentralised as members can be trusted to pursue its missionary goals without central control. At the same time, revealing the complexity of such an organisation, it confers a great deal of power on its charismatic leader: in this respect it is like a Simple Structure. Further, the work of the organisation

is 'often simple and routine as in the Machine Bureaucracy; its members often work in quasi-autonomous cells or orders as in the Divisionalized Form; and the members are prepared to cooperate with each other when necessary, as in the Adhocracy' (Mintzberg, 1979: 480). Beyond these composite characteristics, the organisation would have its own prime coordinating mechanism, socialisation, the standardisation of norms and its own 'corresponding main design parameter' (Mintzberg, 1979: 480), indoctrination. The indoctrination of members of the organisation would in part result in the coordination of members' behaviours 'by virtue of the norms they share' (Mintzberg, 1979: 480). A final, living, part of the organisation, one which a 'perceptive visitor would "sense"...immediately' (Mintzberg, 1979: 480) would be ideology, a force pulling the organisation towards its sense of mission.

The fact that Mintzberg's description of this potential configuration is so much briefer than for the five accepted configurations, and it has a complex hybrid structure, makes it difficult to suppose its relation to ICT engagement and resistance. As with a Professional Bureaucracy one can hypothesise that decentralisation may facilitate the emergence of ICT engagement, as may the quasi-autonomous cells of the Divisionalized Form. However, with powerful leadership being a feature as in the Simple Structure, the leaders' view of ICTs will be of import. Likewise, with indoctrination and socialisation being key aspects of the design and operation of the organisation, the extent to which these processes, and the ideology behind them, are compatible with ICTs will be critical. Whilst these are useful insights, the hybrid nature of the missionary form of organisation renders it impossible for Mintzberg to graphically convey: this makes it even more difficult to incorporate into a broader conceptual framework which relates the structures and functions of an organisation to resistance to ICTs.

Another, third, exception to the use of organisation-given nomenclature for structures and functions, and one which may be graphically expressed as in figure 2.2, is the structurational model of technology (Orlikowski, 1992). This builds upon research of the interaction approach to the study

of ICTs, such as that of Markus (1983), as explored in the previous section, 2.2, combining this with insights from Giddens' structuration theory (1986). It comprises three elements: human agents, technology and the institutional properties of an organisation. Human agents can be designers, decision-makers or users of technology. Technologies are 'material artefacts mediating task execution in the workplace' (Orlikowski, 1992: 409). The institutional properties of organisations broadly encompass 'structural arrangements, business strategies, ideology, culture, control mechanisms, standard operating procedures, division of labo[u]r, expertise, communication patterns, as well as environmental pressures such as government regulation, competitive forces, vendor strategies, professional norms, state of knowledge about technology, and socio-economic conditions' (Orlikowski, 1992: 409).



Arrow	Type of Influence
(a)	Technology as a product of human action
(b)	Technology as a medium of human action
(c)	Institutional conditions of interaction with technology
(d)	Institutional consequences of interaction with technology

Figure 2.2 The structural model of technology (reproduction of Orlikowski, 1992: 410)

Technology as a product of human action, arrow (a), reflects how technological artefacts are created – designed and developed – and sustained – maintained and adapted – by human agency; and also how, through their appropriation and manipulation in use, they acquire significance and influence. Technology as a medium of human action, arrow (b), represents how technology both facilitates and constrains human action through the provision of interpretive schemes, facilities and norms. It can only condition human action: whatever rules and resources are embedded in technology, humans retain an element of control over their interaction with it. Institutional conditions of interaction with technology, arrow (c), concerns the organisational context which shapes humans acting on technology, ‘whether designing, appropriating, modifying, or even resisting it’ (Orlikowski, 1992: 411). Institutional properties such as professional norms and available resources (time, money, skills) influence humans in their interaction with technology. The import of institutional properties is shown by research (e.g. Barley, 1986; Barley, 1990) which reveals very different interactions with the same technology in different organisations. Institutional consequences of interaction with technology, arrow (d), reflects how interaction with technology reinforces, more commonly, or transforms, less frequently, the institutional properties of an organisation. This influence on institutional structures is ‘often not reflected on by users, who are generally unaware of their role in either reaffirming or disrupting an institutional status quo’ (Orlikowski, 1992: 411).

This structurational model of technology has been applied in a variety of contexts, beginning with productivity tools within a large, multi-national software consultancy (Orlikowski, 1992). This application revealed micro-level resistance to ICTs and meso-level counter-resistance. Meso-level resistance towards ICTs with this model is more problematic. An organisation resisting ICTs will still have structures of domination exercising power over human agency (arrow c); human agency may still transform or reinforce such structures. However, if the organisation is resisting ICTs, such domination and agency will not be mediated through technology. Unless there is individual resistance towards the organisational resistance of ICTs, resistance which takes the form of ICT use,

arrows a, b and d could simply be replaced by a single arrow back from human agency to institutional structures. The structurational model of technology presumes technology use. Further, the one arrow of which we can be certain featuring in the fieldwork site, arrow c, has been the least focused upon in literature using structurational concepts. Much of the research has focused simply on arrows a and b i.e. structure here being that embodied in the artefact rather than the institution. Orlikowski's later work (2000) focuses on arrows a, b and d. She argues that structures emerge through ongoing enactments of technologies-in-practice. In terms of arrow d the main finding of research using the structuration model has been the contradictory impacts of ICT in both centralising and distributing control within organisations (Orlikowski, 1991). This is not a novel finding in itself as it confirms earlier work (e.g. Zuboff, 1982; Cheong and Hirschheim, 1983; Bjorn-Andersen et al., 1986; Robey, 1987; Storey, 1987).

The relative lack of research focusing on the institutional conditions of interaction with technology (arrow c) reflects a broader finding of ICT research using structuration theory, whether directly (from the work of Giddens) or indirectly (through works which use Giddens such as Orlikowski). Jones and Karsten (2003) have identified 225 papers using his ideas, either directly or indirectly, but even amongst this pool they have identified an 'imbalance in the use of concepts from the structurational literature' (Jones and Karsten, 2003: 40). The imbalance is that literature from the information systems field has underplayed the effect of structure when compared to Giddens. This is particularly significant when Giddens himself is criticised for underplaying the effect of structure. Mouzelis concludes that Giddens pays too high a price in seeking to transcend the subject-object distinction 'in a decorative, rhetorical manner' (1995: 156). Similarly, Callinicos has rejected Giddens on the grounds that he has putatively reduced the objective existence of structure to individual agency (1985: 162).

In this section I explored and evaluated the potential contribution of Mintzberg's (1979) model of professional organisations, especially as previously utilised by Lapointe and Rivard (2007), and of

Orlikowski's (1992) structurational model of technology, for understanding how the the structures and functions of an organisation impact on, or relate to, resistance to ICTs. Had my fieldwork site aligned to one of Mintzberg's (1979) five conventional configurations this may have proved very fruitful, as it did for Lapointe and Rivard (2007). The structurational model usefully showed how technology, individuals and organisations may shape each other. However, it presumes technology use, and in its application relatively neglects the institutional conditions of interaction with technology. There is therefore a need to further explore how structure and functions can relate to ICTs, incorporating insights from the structurational model yet giving structure its due. This will mean looking to other organisational theories not yet related to resistance to ICTs, a task accomplished in chapter 3.

2.4 Field of the organisation and *habitus* of individuals

In this section I consider how the extant literature can explicate my third subsidiary question (SQ3): how do the field and *doxa* of the organisation and the *habitus* and capitals of the individuals within it impact on, or relate to, resistance to ICTs? Much research on ICTs 'has concentrated on the characteristics of those individuals who *are* using ICTs or...simply pathologised the "have nots" in terms of individual deficits' (Selwyn, 2003: 101). The latter, more characterisation than characteristics, forms the focus of the next subsection; this focuses on the former. The implication of research on characteristics of those individuals who *are* using ICTs is that people who do not share such characteristics are more likely to resist ICTs.

Characteristics of those who engage

The multilevel model of Lapointe and Rivard (2007) uses the cognitive absorption model (Agarwal and Karahanna, 2000) at its individual level to help answer why individuals use an ICT. In the model (see figure 2.3), cognitive absorption is their involvement with software exhibited through five dimensions of temporal dissociation, focused immersion, heightened enjoyment, control and curiosity. It influences two user perceptions: usefulness, 'the degree to which a person believes

that using a particular system would enhance his or her job performance' (Davis, 1989: 320); and ease-of-use, 'the degree to which a person believes that using a particular system would be free from effort' (Davis, 1989: 320). Perceived ease-of-use may impact upon usefulness; together they determine the individual's intention to use the system. This model may have limited utility where ICT resisters may have had no meaningful cognitive reaction to ICTs because they have never used them. A model which provides for perceived usefulness and perceived ease-of-use, yet without cognitive absorption, may therefore be more appropriate. One such model is the unified theory of acceptance and use of technology (UTAUT) (Venkatesh et al., 2003).

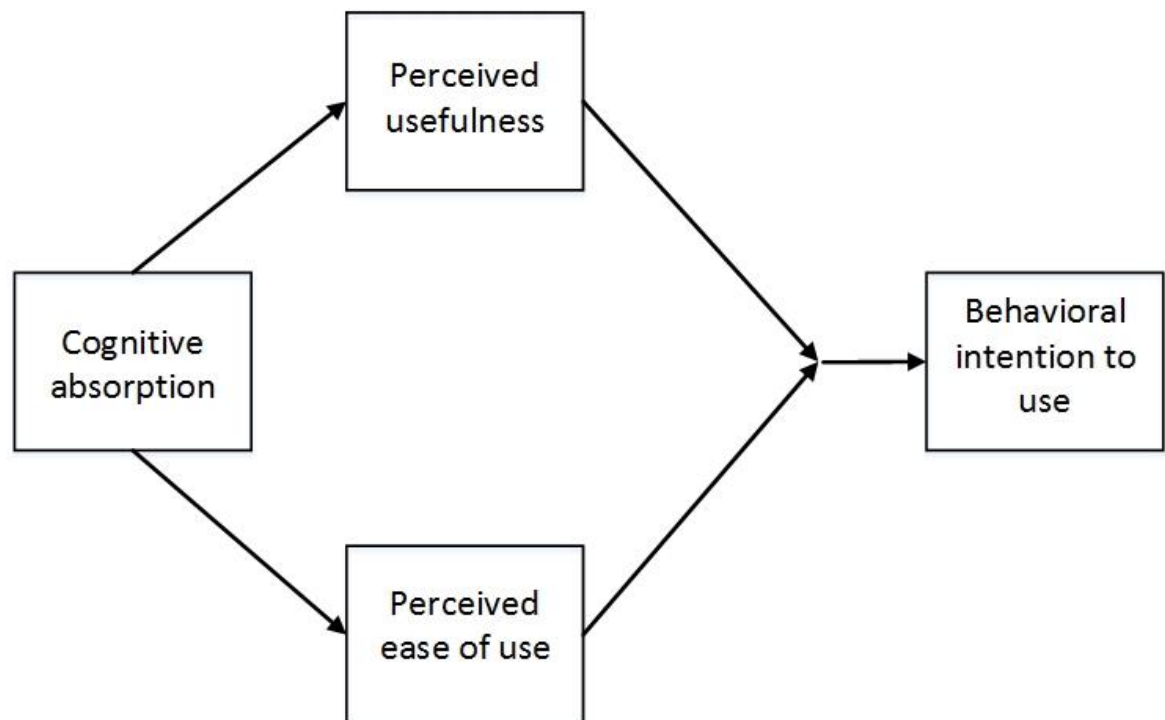


Figure 2.3 The cognitive absorption model (Lapointe and Rivard, 2007: 90)

UTAUT, unlike the cognitive absorption model, may be applied to those who have not, as well as those who have, used technology. It seeks 'to explain individual acceptance and usage decisions in organizations' (Venkatesh et al., 2003: 471). It draws upon elements of various other models available 'off-the-shelf': TAM (Davis, 1989), the theory of reasoned action (Fishbein and Ajzen, 1975), the motivational model (Vallerand, 1997), the theory of planned behaviour (Ajzen, 1991),

the model of personal computer utilization (Thompson et al., 1991), the innovation diffusion theory (Rogers, 2003), and the social cognitive theory (Compeau and Higgins, 1995). TAM has been the 'dominant theoretical model' (McMaster and Wastell, 2005: 386), as 'one of the most influential theories in Information Systems' (Benbasat and Barki, 2007: 211) and the basis of many studies of ICT adoption (e.g. Yu et al., 2003; Koivumaki et al., 2008), but is increasingly being superseded by UTAUT which itself forms the basis of many other studies of ICT adoption (e.g. Garfield, 2005; Lu et al., 2009).

UTAUT retains the essence of perceived usefulness and perceived ease-of-use from the cognitive absorption model although they are renamed performance expectancy and effort expectancy. Performance expectancy means the potential positives for the organisation, whereas effort expectancy means the potential negatives for the individual employee. Personal usefulness in this model would appear to be irrelevant or assumed to be congruent with organisational usefulness. Performance expectancy and effort expectancy are supplemented by two other key determinants: social influence and facilitating conditions (see figure 2.4). Social influence is the degree to which a person perceives that important others believe they should use the system whilst facilitating conditions vary according to the organisational and technical infrastructure which exists to support use of the system.

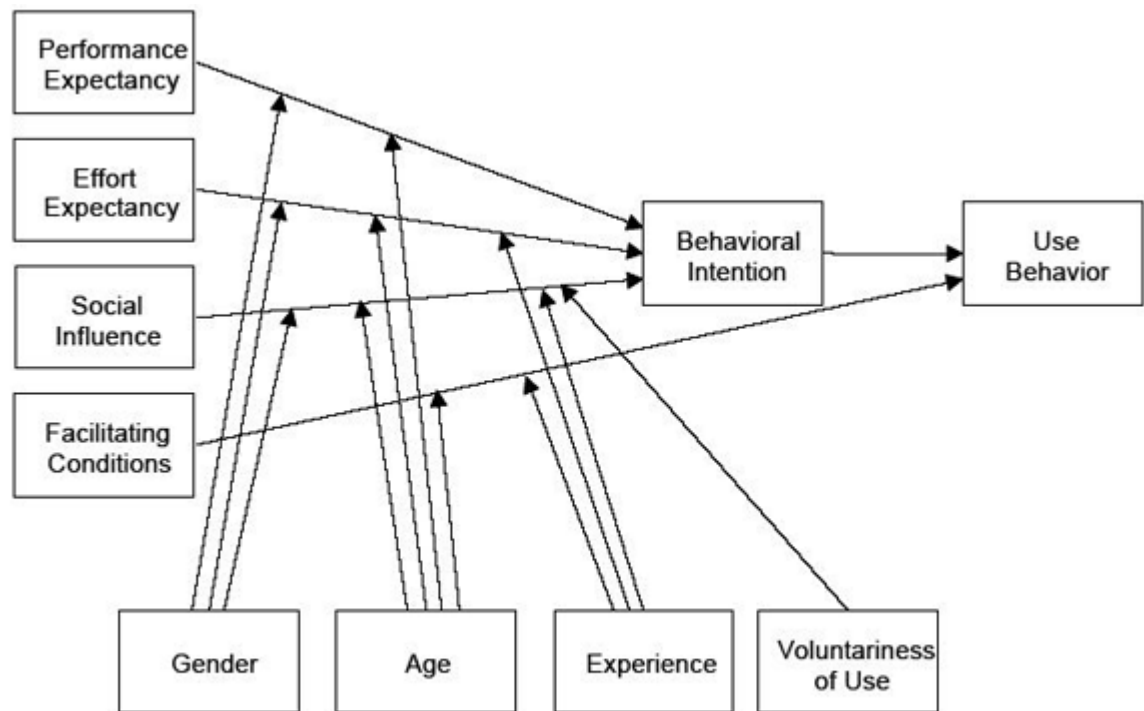


Figure 2.4 The unified theory of acceptance and use of technology (Venkatesh et al., 2003: 447)

As may be seen from the bottom row of figure 2.4, UTAUT also includes four key moderators thought to influence the adoption of technology: two demographic, one experiential and one contextual. Venkatesh et al. (2003) judge gender to impact upon the behavioural intention to use a new technology in a variety of ways. They argue that performance expectancy has a greater influence on men than women when making decisions regarding the use of a new technology (Venkatesh and Morris, 2000). On the other hand, they consider that effort expectancy is more important to women compared with men when making decisions regarding the use of a new technology (Venkatesh and Morris, 2000). Similarly, Venkatesh et al. deem social influence to have a greater impact on women than men due to a greater sensitivity to others (Venkatesh and Morris, 2000) and use of technologies to establish rapport and co-operation with others (Gefen and Straub, 1997).

Venkatesh et al. find that age moderates performance expectancy as younger users are more motivated by extrinsic reward (Morris and Venkatesh, 2000; Venkatesh et al., 2003). In contrast,

they argue that effort expectancy is more important for older users as 'increased age has been shown to be associated with difficulty in processing complex stimuli and allocating attention to information on the job' (Venkatesh et al., 2003: 450). Similarly, they argue that older users are more influenced by social factors as increased age is associated with a greater need for affiliation and a lesser need for autonomy (Venkatesh et al., 2003). In addition, facilitating conditions such as a conducive environment and appropriate training are also thought to become more significant (Sun and Zhang, 2006).

In contrast to these moderators, experience is inconsistently defined in technology acceptance research. It is sometimes measured by the number of years a person has used computers in general (Venkatesh and Morris, 2000) and at other times by a variable that employs ordinal values to capture increasing levels of user experience with the technology (Venkatesh et al., 2003). In longitudinal studies, experience is implied in the separation of stages (Davis, 1989). Although variously measured, the concept of experience consistently suggests a person 'more familiar with and more knowledgeable about the technology of interest' (Sun and Zhang, 2006: 69). When users have prior experience with similar technologies, they have more knowledge upon which to draw when learning new technologies, moderating the effort expectancy. Experience also moderates social influence as experienced users can use their experience in addition to, or instead of, others' opinions in forming their intention to use a new technology (Venkatesh and Davis, 2000). In contrast, inexperienced potential adopters are more socially influenced than current, experienced, users (Karahanna et al., 1999). The influence of facilitating conditions on use behaviour, perhaps counter-intuitively, is expected to increase with experience as such users will have established support networks across an organisation on which they can draw to resolve any issues around their use of a technology (Sun and Zhang, 2006).

Voluntariness of use is defined by Venkatesh and Davis (2000) as the extent to which a user feels that their use is non-mandatory. They argue that voluntary acceptance and use will moderate social

influence because the individual will feel less pressure to comply with the demands of management. Such an influence wears off over time as the user internalises such demands rather than complying with them (Karahanna et al., 1999; Venkatesh and Davis, 2000; Venkatesh et al., 2003).

Venkatesh et al maintain that UTAUT 'provides a useful tool for managers to assess the likelihood of success for new technology introductions' (Venkatesh et al., 2003: 425). If success seems unlikely it also 'helps them understand the drivers of acceptance in order to proactively design interventions (including training, marketing, etc.)' (Venkatesh et al., 2003: 425). Such interventions would, of course, be targeted at potential resisters, the 'populations of users that may be less inclined to adopt and use new systems' (Venkatesh et al., 2003: 425). However, UTAUT cannot provide a complete explanation of resistance. As proponents of a revised version of UTAUT concede, such studies 'account for less than 60% of variance explained, especially those using field studies with professional users' (Sun and Zhang, 2006: 53). In their view:

the differences in explanatory power between laboratory studies and field studies, and between studies using students and using professionals, imply some complex contextual factors in the real world that should be taken into account (Sun and Zhang, 2006: 53).

It is not a great surprise that these models cannot do this, for they are based upon, and are the basis for, quantitative research. When they have been appropriated for qualitative research (e.g. via UTAUT in Garfield, 2005) the findings have been as expected: 'Neat geometric models such a[s] TAM are like pastry cutters that produce nice regular shapes...at the expense of editing out everything else not contained in the model' (McMaster and Wastell, 2005: 396). UTAUT is still a pastry cutter, even though it is a much fancier one. Resistance is, at least to an extent, 'covert and subterranean' (Collinson and Ackroyd, 2005: 306). As such it is 'inevitably...difficult to identify and research' (Collinson and Ackroyd, 2005: 306). This is even more so when depending upon 'large data sets and increasingly available quantitative survey materials, rather than in-depth or

longitudinal fieldwork' (Thompson and Ackroyd, 1995: 619). In order to 'see' – and particularly to understand – resistance a broader, qualitative, approach needs to be adopted.

The elements which constitute UTAUT come from reference disciplines such as psychology, and sociology (Venkatesh et al., 2003). This borrowing of concepts from different social sciences is not without its problems. Models can end up combining concepts from different disciplines and/or schools of thought without caveat or due consideration e.g. a group dynamics approach and a more individual-focused behaviourist approach (Macredie et al., 1998). In doing so, concepts may be only partially imported and debate may be circumscribed (Truex and Baskerville, 1997); the elements selected may, within the reference discipline, be far from universally accepted – for instance, TAM is strongly influenced by behavioural psychology. Instead of working within the false constraint of concepts borrowed for another purpose, in the next chapter I return to another reference discipline, sociology, to mine for concepts specifically suited to my task of determining the nature and extent of resistance to ICTs at the meso-level of an organisation.

Characterisations of those who resist

Whilst quantitative models, primarily based upon those who *do* engage with ICTs have become dominant in the ICT literature, in the broader social sciences, and in particular sociology and education, there has been a focused effort to explain excluded or peripheral users of technology. Typically, such explanation is based upon a deficit of the individual, whether material, cognitive or psychological. Material resources can determine both whether or not an individual uses ICTs and, if they do, their subsequent pattern of use. To use a classic example, an individual may have the resources to fund the purchase of a word-processor, but without the resources for a printer, their pattern of use will be very different from that of someone who does (Murdock et al., 1996). The total costs of ownership (TCO) of technologies – taking into account training, updating, reconfiguration, maintenance – can be many times the initial equipment costs. Indeed, one estimate is that the initial cost of a personal computer and relevant software is 16% of the TCO

(Kling, 1999). Cognitive deficiency has, in some cases, been defined as lack of experience, in other cases as a lack of ability, whether in terms of mathematical skill (Schumacher, 1993) or creativity (Offir et al., 1993).

Resistance to ICTs has also been attributed to a psychological deficit, a technological reticence (Turkle, 1988) or phobia (Brosnan and Davidson, 1994), signified by fear or stress when contemplating use of an ICT. Whilst constituting an independent discourse of resistance to ICTs, such phobia have been found to correspond significantly with other characteristics such as age, gender (Turkle, 1988; Brosnan and Davidson, 1994) and even politics. Amongst left-wing intellectuals there may be found local, informal, individual and passive resistance (Haywood, 1998). Even when these individuals can afford to engage with ICTs such ideological refusal persists (Dijk, 2006). This resistance may be because of the implications of ICTs for traditional patterns of work and life. It may also be an aesthetic rejection of the reductionist, linear and logical nature of computing (Turkle, 1995; Turkle, 2005), a consequence of the contrast between the 'hard' nature of machines and the 'soft' nature of the humans expected to use them (Norman, 1993).

Such resistors have elsewhere been referred to as 'laggards': conservative individuals or groups with few external contacts and a suspicious attitude towards new ideas who adopt innovations at a very late stage or not at all (Rogers, 2003). Rogers (2003) contrasts them with 'innovators', who actively seek out information concerning new ideas, objects and practices and adopt them at a very early stage. In-between these groups lay 'early adopters', the 'early majority' and the 'late majority', who are progressively more sceptical and risk averse.

The first edition of Rogers' seminal book was published in 1962 (Rogers, 1962) and is now in its fifth edition (Rogers, 2003). His work is of great significance for '[d]iffusion studies in IS are predicated almost entirely on some degree of acceptance of Rogers' work' (McMaster and Wastell, 2005: 385). Critiques of Rogers have often focused on his choice of terminology: 'On the one hand, we have courageous innovators, and at the other pole, we have "laggards"; bumpkins with no

aspirations, resources or initiative of their own' (McMaster and Wastell, 2005: 387). Rogers' choice of nomenclature suggests technological determinism, an implicit assumption or practice, a *doxa*, in the realm of the undisputed and undiscussed (Bourdieu et al., 1977). As shown in chapter 1 there is very little public debate when it comes to the desirability of ICT adoption because it is 'the point of view of the dominant, which presents and imposes itself as a universal point of view' (Bourdieu, 1998: 57). Only in times of crisis may the *habitus* of social agents slip out of alignment with the objective structures in which they live their lives, enabling such *doxa* to be questioned (Bourdieu, 2010).

Criticism can also be made of the discourses of material and cognitive deficit as explanations of resistance to ICTs. Although not inexpensive, the cost of computing has been compared to the cost of owning hi-fi systems and mountain bikes (Neice, 1998), and the demographics of ownership compared to that of satellite dishes rather than encyclopedias (O'Leary, 1998). Just as material deficiency may not be an especially persuasive explanation of ICT resistance, cognitive ability may not actually favour technology adoption. For example, the highly specialised and autonomous nature of physician's work is thought to lead them to be independent in their thinking and decision-making and therefore less inclined to put weight on peers' opinions when deciding to adopt a new technology (Chau and Hu, 2002). Elsewhere this has led to the argument that 'TAM may not be appropriate for user populations that have considerably above-average general competence and intellectual capacity' (Hu et al., 1999: 106). Technophobia, whilst significant before widespread consumption of ICTs, may no longer be extensive, even when compounded by other characteristics such as age, gender and politics. Although resistance to ICTs may coincide with the absence of characteristics which favour engagement with technology, and resisters may fit the characterisation prevalent in much of the literature, such resistance may actually be the result of a digital choice based upon the form of the technology or the ideology embedded within it.

This digital choice is especially evident in studies focused on resistance in the healthcare sector where reasons for physicians and/or nurses resisting ICTs have been the care ethic intrinsic to these professions (Wilson, 2002) and the different, threatening, way of working embodied in the system (Timmons, 2003; Bhattacharjee and Hikmet, 2007). It may be that there is an inherent conflict between the *habitus* of those working in this sector, or even the *doxa* of their organisations, and ICTs inherently structured prior to use. As Marx states ([1847], 1975: 166): ‘The handmill gives you society with the feudal lord; the steam-mill, society with the industrial capitalist.’ This is because ‘[t]he handmill presupposes a different division of labour from the steam-mill’ (Marx and Engels, [1847], 1975: 183). ICTs are, in their programming code, the embodiment of written rules. They provide for uses that are considered desirable by a sufficient number of people to make their inclusion in a commercial commodity worthwhile. Whilst in practice the uses of ICTs extend beyond those intended, they are not infinite.

This imperative of utility exists even in the case of open source software: its creators are also ‘indoctrinated in the rationality of modernity’ (Avgerou, 2000: 12). Their ‘roles have been based and legitimated mostly on a technocratic instrumental logic – to develop cost-effectively robust systems required for an organisation – without an obligation to consider the validity of the “requirements” given to them’ (Avgerou, 2000: 13). Further, they are likely to have created it within the ‘pernicious form’ (Braverman, 1998: 227) of the division of labour that arose in the systems development industry. In the development of early systems ‘the programmer was generally a systems analyst as well, and combined the two functions of devising and writing the system’ (Braverman, 1998: 227). Later control and execution were separated: ‘it became clear that a great deal of the work of programming was routine and could be delegated to cheaper employees’ (Braverman, 1998: 227). Such programmers were still at the upper level of the hierarchy; below this level, systems development ‘enters the realm of working-class occupations’ (Braverman, 1998: 228) such as testers, operators, technical support. Having been created by technocratic instrumental logic to serve the purposes of technocratic instrumental logic, it has been argued that

ICTs render the concept of profession redundant (Haug, 1977). Such logic may not be of general value nor therefore of global legitimacy. There is a need to consider who benefits from changing the status quo.

Usually resistance is regarded as negative, for an implicit assumption is made that either the objectives of the technology's designer or vendor are desirable, or that regardless, the intended user should accept them. The examples of resistance by physicians and nurses reveal that this is subjective. In their cases the question may be as much about what such people are attracted to as what they resist (Goldstein, 1994). If these resisters are attracted to values or ideals in preference to those represented by a new technology it could be that, as Hessel, the former French Resistance fighter and inspiration of recent social protesters, pithily proclaims: 'To create is to resist, to resist is to create' (Hessel, 2011: 40).

Such a positive digital choice against ICTs is not provided for by either the social science discourses concerning resistance to ICTs, which focus on deficits of the individual, or the narrower quantitative models which comprise characteristics of those who engage, such as UTAUT. A new approach is required to explore conflict between the *habitus* of those working in certain professions, or even the *doxa* of their organisations, and ICTs formed via a division of labour which serves technocratic instrumental logic. This will be developed in chapter 3.

2.5 Constellations of positions and dispositions

I turn now to consider what extant literature can help to answer my fourth subsidiary question (SQ4): what constellations of positions and dispositions form and evolve? To do this I explore and evaluate the potential contribution of Lapointe and Rivard's (2007) attempt to fit together the Power Variant of Interaction Theory (PVIT), Organisational Configuration (OC) and Cognitive Absorption (CA) models into a framework that provides for IS implementation across both organisational levels and time.

The alternate-template theory of IS implementation has a longitudinal aspect, with four phases over time: project chartering, configuration and roll out, shake down, and onward and upward (see figure 2.5). The model also has a level aspect, with three levels of organisational, group and individual. Each of these three levels is associated with a model: the organisational level is associated with Mintzberg's (1979) OC; the group level is associated with Markus' (1983) PVIT; the individual level is associated with Agarwal and Karahanna's (2000) CA. Lapointe and Rivard (2007) characterise the project chartering phase as one of *emergence* with the OC being critical. Configuration and roll out where the system enters *use*, is when CA becomes dominant. During shake down, the PVIT applies as *resistance* features. Through onward and upward *routinization* occurs, with the OC again being critical.

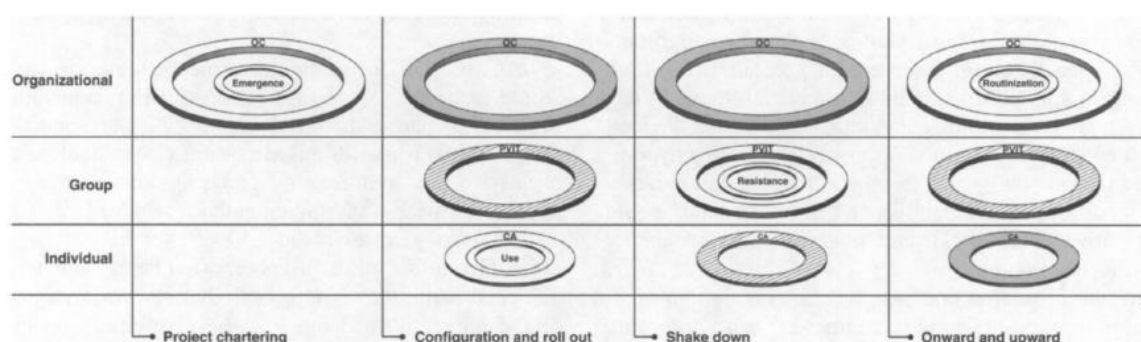


Figure 2.5 The alternate-template theory of IS implementation (Lapointe and Rivard, 2007: 103)

The model is especially shaped by its focus on fixed, bespoke, organisation-commissioned information systems. The limitation of its focus on organisation-commissioned information systems is that the resistance to ICTs it identifies will be associated with resistance towards the meso-level. It does not permit the possibility of meso-level resistance to macro-level ICT initiatives or indeed meso-level resistance to micro-level ICT initiatives. Employee-initiated adoption is something I have found in my own research when engineers in a case study firm would request ICTs by their own – or possibly the vendors' – volition, utilising points from the marketing of such ICTs to construct a business justification for the required asset request forms (Russell, 2012). The

ICTs requested were overwhelmingly mobile, not the fixed information systems of Lapointe and Rivard (2007).

Further evidence of mobile ICTs as consumer goods – and of employee agency in appropriating them – is found in the sales of Motorola pagers in the early 1990s. Motorola changed the colour of their pager from basic black to bright green, a change that ‘actually cost...nothing could get...fifteen bucks extra per unit’ (Former Head of Motorola’s Pager Division cited in Postrel, 2003: 66). Buyers can thus be ‘seduced by the case plastic’ (An engineer cited in Postrel, 2003: 79). Physicians, who were found to resist information systems, were one of the first professions to – seemingly willingly (Wood, 1990) – adopt pagers. Elsewhere in the health sector, community health visitors and psychiatric nurses – in wishing to keep up with the Joneses – have demanded mobile ICTs because ‘as always, GPs seem to be better equipped’ (Amicus, 2002: 5).

Another limitation of the alternate-template theory of IS implementation is that the organisation-commissioned fixed information systems it featured – as in other health sector studies (Prasad and Prasad, 2000; Wilson, 2002; Timmons, 2003; Bhattacharjee and Hikmet, 2007) – were designed and delivered bespoke. Outside of the health sector – where there are major projects in various countries based around electronic patient records – there are only a few other domains where this is the case – aerospace and the military being two. Mobile technologies, in contrast, are purchased off-the-shelf. As such there is little scope to influence their design, particularly by small organisations with limited resources. However, it is also the case that, due to their mobile and relatively straightforward nature, mobile technologies allow more discretion and creativity in use. Within organisational contexts and without, users have developed their own app(lication)s (Russell, 2008). Certainly outside of the organisational context, some such apps serve as a tool for users to resist the power being wielded over them, for instance the stop and search app written for the Blackberry (Brown, 2012).

Whilst the particular components of Lapointe and Rivard's (2007) framework do not suit meso-level, as opposed to micro-level, resistance or off-the-shelf ICTs, as opposed to bespoke IS, what this model does show, which is of relevance to this study, are the importance of the level and longitudinal aspects of ICT adoption. Resistance to ICTs will change over time, and any other framework used in this study will have to provide for this. Further, the import of a longitudinal approach also needs to be reflected in this study's methodology: to grasp the complex organisational dynamics, and nuance of technological innovation, that play out longitudinally, episodes of immersion in the field over time will be the right epistemological vehicle (Newman and Robey, 1992; Robey and Boudreau, 1999). Similarly, the framework and methodology of this study will also need to provide for the study of the different levels, macro- and micro- as well as meso-level, to capture the reality of meso-level resistance.

2.6 Conclusions

In this chapter I explored the extant literature on resistance to ICTs to better understand what determines the nature and extent of resistance to ICTs at the meso-level of an organisation. In order to facilitate this I considered the literature of help in addressing each of my subsidiary research questions. The extant research I explored in this chapter was not normally about meso-level resistance to ICTs *per se*, for there are very few cases in the literature or more generally in the public domain. Instead it was about micro-level resistance to meso- and macro-level ICT initiatives and about micro-level resistance to meso-level restrictions placed upon already-adopted ICTs. Assessing its relevance to this thesis often required imaginative application. Figure 2.6 summarises the ideas and authors discussed in this chapter, and how they help address my subsidiary questions. In so doing it clearly identifies the need for further research. It may be read in conjunction with the narrative summary which follows beneath it.

Question	Ideas and Authors
How can resistance to ICTs be conceptualised? (SQ1)	<p>In relation to organisational power distribution (Markus, 1983)</p> <p>By group and longitudinal dimensions (Lapointe and Rivard, 2005)</p> <p>By degree, ranging from apathy through passive and active resistance to aggressive (Coetsee, 1999)</p>
How do the structures and functions of an organisation impact on, or relate to, resistance to ICTs? (SQ2)	<p>Structurational model of technology (Orlikowski, 1992):</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Technologies are created and sustained by human agency; and facilitate and constrain human action Institutional properties influence human interaction with technology; they are also reinforced or transformed by such interaction
How do the field and <i>doxa</i> of the organisation and the <i>habitus</i> and capitals of the individuals within it impact on, or relate to, resistance to ICTs? (SQ3)	<p>Those likely to engage with ICTs can be identified by their characteristics (Venkatesh et al., 2003)</p> <p>Those likely to resist have been characterised (Rogers, 2003)</p> <p>Neither provide for a positive choice against ICTs, whether reflecting <i>habitus</i> and/or <i>doxa</i></p>
What constellations of positions and dispositions form and evolve? (SQ4)	<p>Lapointe and Rivard (2007) provide a multi-level framework for identifying resistance across time</p> <p>However, its focus is micro-level resistance to bespoke IS, not meso-level resistance to off-the-shelf ICTs</p>

Figure 2.6 Ideas and authors from the extant literature in relation to my subsidiary questions

I began by considering how resistance to ICTs has been conceptualised. I found that that elements of the Markus' power model (1983) and its revision by Lapointe and Rivard (2005) of use in the

case of meso-level resistance to ICTs. One such element is Markus' (1983) classic conceptualisation (1983) of people-determined, system-determined and interaction resistance research. The object of resistance, the ICT is important, as is the subject of resistance, the intended organisation but what is more critical is their interaction in a specific space and at a particular time for resistance to ICT depends upon, and results from, the networks and circumstances in which, and by which, the technology is embedded, not the technology or the people who use it *per se*. Within the interaction category of resistance research Markus' (1983) political variant, where crucial to the context is not just how the subject and object interact but also the siting of the subject and object in broader power relations, informs my entire conceptual approach which I develop in the next chapter. Despite this I also concluded that the narrow definition of resistance, used in both Markus (1983) and Lapointe and Rivard (2005), needed to be broader to reflect the overlapping continuum of responses which are likely to be encountered in studying meso-level resistance to ICT initiatives. I therefore adopt the taxonomy of Coetsee (1999) in this thesis, meaning that the intent to resist, or even simply not to use, an ICT is sufficient to be classified as resistance; it need not frustrate or prevent its use by other organisations.

Next I considered how, in the literature, the structures and functions of an organisation are related to resistance to ICTs. I found that Orlikowski's (1992) structurational model of technology usefully showed how technology, individuals and organisations may shape each other. However, it presumes technology use and, in its application, relatively neglects the institutional conditions of interaction with technology. This means I need to consider how to supplement this in the following chapter.

I went on to explore how the literature relates the nature of the organisation and the individuals within it to resistance to ICTs. I found that neither quantitative models, such as UTAUT, which propose characteristics of those who are likely to engage with ICTs, nor discourses from the social sciences, which focus on deficits of the individual, provide for a positive digital choice against ICTs.

Drawing upon the finding that the sites of resistance to ICTs are often within the healthcare sector, I then posited that there may be a conflict between the *habitus* of those working in the healthcare sector, or even the *doxa* of such organisations, and ICTs formed via a division of labour which serves technocratic instrumental logic. Bourdieu's concepts of field, *doxa*, *habitus* and capitals will be related to ICT resistance in the next chapter where a conceptual framework is developed through the use of theoretical resources.

Finally I considered, how, in the literature, constellations form and evolve. I found that whilst Lapointe and Rivard's (2007) framework is for micro-level, not meso-level, resistance to ICTs and bespoke IS, not off-the-shelf ICTs, it shows the importance of the level and longitudinal aspects of ICT adoption. Resistance to ICTs will change over time, and my own conceptual framework will have to provide for this. Given its import, time also needs to be reflected in this study's methodology. Similarly, the framework and methodology of this study will also need to provide for the study of macro- and micro- as well as meso-levels to capture the reality of meso-level resistance. Such a framework and methodology form the focus of the following two chapters.

Chapter 3

Conceptualising Power and Resistance in Organisations

[T]he early Norman castles and the later Edwardian ones are proof of the ferocity of Welsh resistance.
(Iorwerth, 2009: 7)

3.1 Introduction

In chapter 2 I discussed the literature on resistance to ICTs to learn more about what determines the nature and extent of resistance to ICTs at the meso-level of an organisation. Such extant research is usually about micro-level resistance to meso-level and macro-level ICT initiatives and about micro-level resistance to meso-level restrictions placed upon already-adopted ICTs, which required careful consideration of its relevance to this different subject. I revealed a complex interaction of structure and agency, and human and non-human (f)actors, in resistance to ICTs.

Therefore, to help me answer my research questions, my next task is to adopt and adapt strands of theory to unpick this intricate tapestry. These strands of theory need to provide for where the extant literature on resistance to ICTs was found lacking: power in relation to resistance; the breadth and diversity of resistance; the complex and hybrid nature of the missionary organisation; and an appropriate framework that suits meso-level resistance to ICTs in organisations whilst providing for multi-level and longitudinal aspects of resistance.

This chapter therefore mines the sociological canon for strands of theory which may be synthesised to form such a framework to help to answer my primary research question (RQ): what determines the nature and extent of organisational resistance to ICTs? It is structured by my subsidiary research questions. I commence in section 3.2 by considering definitions and dimensions of power and resistance to help construct an answer to my first subsidiary question (SQ1): how can resistance to ICTs be conceptualised? I posit the potential contribution of elements of the work of

Mouzelis (1995; 2008) to my conceptual framework in helping me to connect the micro-, meso- and macro-levels with power and resistance. The remainder of the chapter is structured around Mouzelis' (1995) three dimensions of social practice, each linked with one of my three remaining subsidiary research questions. Section 3.3 considers how the positional dimension can help to answer my second subsidiary question (SQ2): how do the structures and functions of an organisation impact on, or relate to, resistance to ICTs? To do this it explores and evaluates the relevance to this question, and my fieldwork site, of the work of Mouzelis (1995; 2008), together with the work of Parsons (1951; 1951; 1953; 1956; 1960b; 1960a; 1961), from which Mouzelis develops this dimension of social practice. Section 3.4 considers how the dispositional dimension can help to answer my third subsidiary question (SQ3): how do the field and *doxa* of the organisation and the *habitus* and capitals of the individuals within it impact on, or relate to, resistance to ICTs? To do this it explores and evaluates the relevance to this question, and my fieldwork site, of the work of Mouzelis (1995; 2008), together with the work of Bourdieu (1962; 1977; 1977; 1983; 1985; 1986; 1988; 1989; 1990; 1991; 1992; 1992; 1998; 2010), from which Mouzelis develops this dimension of social practice. Section 3.5 considers how the figurational dimension can help to answer my fourth subsidiary question (SQ4): what constellations of positions and dispositions form and evolve? To do this it explores and evaluates the relevance to this question, and my fieldwork site, of Mouzelis (1995; 2008), together with the work of Elias (1978; 1978; 2000; 2007b; 2007a; 2008; 2008a; 2010), from which Mouzelis develops this dimension of social practice.

3.2 Definitions and dimensions of power and resistance

In order to learn more about how resistance to ICTs can be conceptualised I explored and evaluated the potential contribution of the power model of Markus (1983) and its revision by Lapointe and Rivard (2005) in section 2.2. I concluded that elements of these models, especially the siting of the subject and object of resistance in broader power relations, will clearly also be significant in the

case of meso-level resistance, but they need to be supplemented by further concepts. Further, the narrow definition of resistance used in both Markus (1983) and Lapointe and Rivard (2005), needed to be broader to reflect the overlapping continuum of responses which are likely to be encountered in studying meso-level resistance to ICT initiatives. I therefore resolved to adopt and develop the taxonomy of Coetsee (1999) in this thesis which means that the intent to resist, or even simply not to use, an ICT is sufficient to be classified as resistance; it need not frustrate or prevent its use by other organisations. Both the broader scope of resistance in Coetsee (1999) and the siting of the subject and object of resistance in broader power relations in Markus (1983) and Lapointe and Rivard (2005) inform my turn to theoretical resources in this section. I begin by defining power and resistance in relation to each other.

Power and resistance form a complex 'constellation' (Adorno, 1973), with particular power relations provoking specific forms of resistance. It is not the case that in this dialectical dyad one can have either power or resistance: resistance accompanies power and thus there can be little or lots of both (Adorno and Horkheimer, 1997). Coercion such as use of direct commands can provoke equally direct refusal. Manipulation such as rule changes can provoke attempts to voice unpalatable concerns. Domination such as control over employees' values can provoke escape from organisational power relations. Subjugation such as identity regulation can provoke the creation of novel identities or ways of being in an organisation.

Forms of resistance can also be instrumental in bringing into being new forms of power, as in the network of state-of-the-art castles constructed throughout Wales in response to indigenous insurrection, as mentioned above by Iorwerth (2009). Refusal may be countered with brutal coercive power such as intimidation. Attempts to voice concerns may be countered by manipulation of the agenda so as to silence them. Escape may be countered by more intensive domination such as manipulation of an employee's values and sentiments. The creation of novel

identities may be countered by carefully orchestrated programmes of subjugation (Fleming and Spicer, 2007).

Power and resistance are thus inextricably linked. Research on resistance should not focus on 'the bow (an ostensible act of obeisance to power) nor the fart (a covert act of resistance to power) but rather on the ways in which these intersect in the moment to produce complex and often contradictory dynamics of control and resistance' (Mumby, 2005: 21). With such dynamics in mind it can be difficult to discern which actions are power and which are resistance. In the case of a strike, for example, it is not always entirely clear who is exercising power and who is resisting. Power relations are social relations and cannot be considered independently of structure and agency. To look to structure – that which is deterministic – and agency – that which is voluntaristic – is not without challenge: one needs to avoid the reification of a focus on structure and the reductionism of a focus on agency.

One useful attempt to do this is the synthesis of Mouzelis (1995) which seeks to bridge the gap between the micro-level of analysis, where many sociologists take a voluntaristic stance and the macro-level where many take a deterministic stance. In his work Mouzelis synthesises three different dimensions of social practice, each drawn from a different tradition of social thought, for heuristic purposes. Each dimension is capable of providing relevant insights but by itself is inadequate; by using all three dimensions together, he seeks to connect micro-level agency-centred analysis with macro-level structure-centred analysis via meso-level analysis, and vice-versa. In so doing, he aims to bridge the divide between post-modern and classical sociological approaches in a pragmatic fashion, not via an attempted depiction of a new vision of society, nor a new theory to be tested. Elements of the work of Mouzelis (1995; 2008) inform my conceptual framework by helping me to pragmatically connect the micro-, meso- and macro-levels with power and resistance.

The following three sections are structured around my remaining subsidiary research questions, each section being informed by one of the three different dimensions of social practice featuring in Mouzelis' synthesis and re-envisioning of Parsons, Bourdieu and Elias (1995). First, the positional dimension, derived from Parsons, concerned with the normative expectations of someone performing a particular role. Second, the dispositional dimension, derived from Bourdieu, concerned with the mental patterns of perception, appreciation and action that an individual brings to bear upon a particular situation; what Bourdieu terms *habitus*. Third, the figurational dimension, derived from Elias, concerned with the specific context of a social activity in which the normative expectations and the *habitus* are activated. In each section I explain and then evaluate the dimension, with especial consideration to both its significance for Mouzelis and its potential usefulness in answering my research questions. Figure 3.1 relates each dimension to one of my three remaining subsidiary questions and, therefore, the following three sections; it also suggests how power and resistance might exist in each dimension. Based on extant research (Arthur, 1997), and the 'top down' nature of role definition, one can expect power to be dominant in the positional dimension; conversely, in the 'bottom up' figurational dimension, based on specific interactions of human subjects and technological objects, one would expect resistance to be dominant. These assumptions lead to a frontier of control with an upward trajectory.

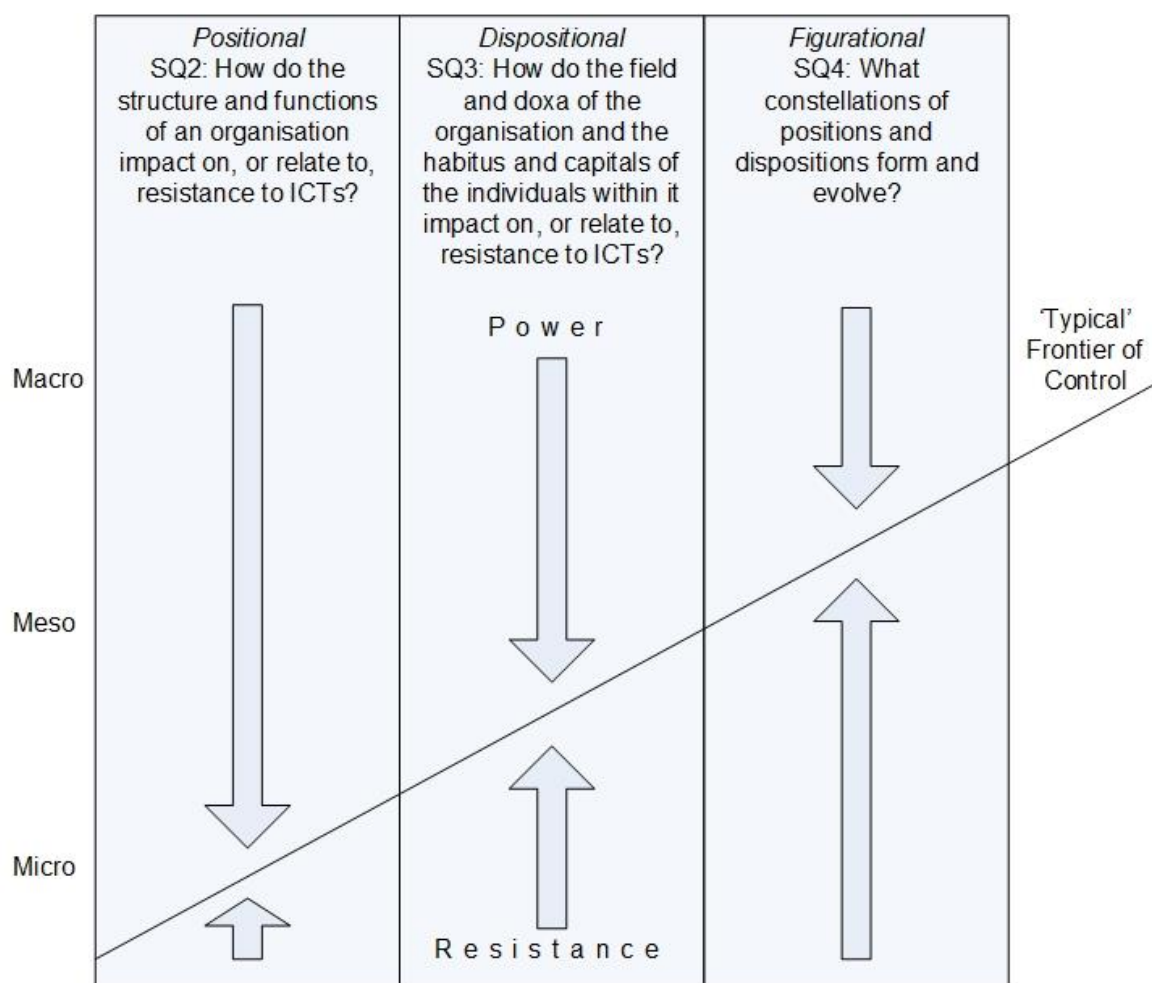


Figure 3.1 My subsidiary questions and the three dimensions of social practice in relation to power and resistance

3.3 Positional

My second subsidiary question (SQ2) is how do the structures and functions of an organisation impact on, or relate to, resistance to ICTs? In other words, how the power distribution and the roles and responsibilities of those within an organisation connects with ICTs. In order to learn more about this, in section 2.3 I explored and evaluated the potential contribution of Mintzberg's (1979) considerations about, and model, of professional organisations. I concluded that the complex and hybrid nature of the missionary organisation means I need to consider alternatives to Mintzberg's configurations. I also found that Orlikowski's (1992) structurational model of technology usefully showed how technology, individuals and organisations may shape each other. It has its limitations,

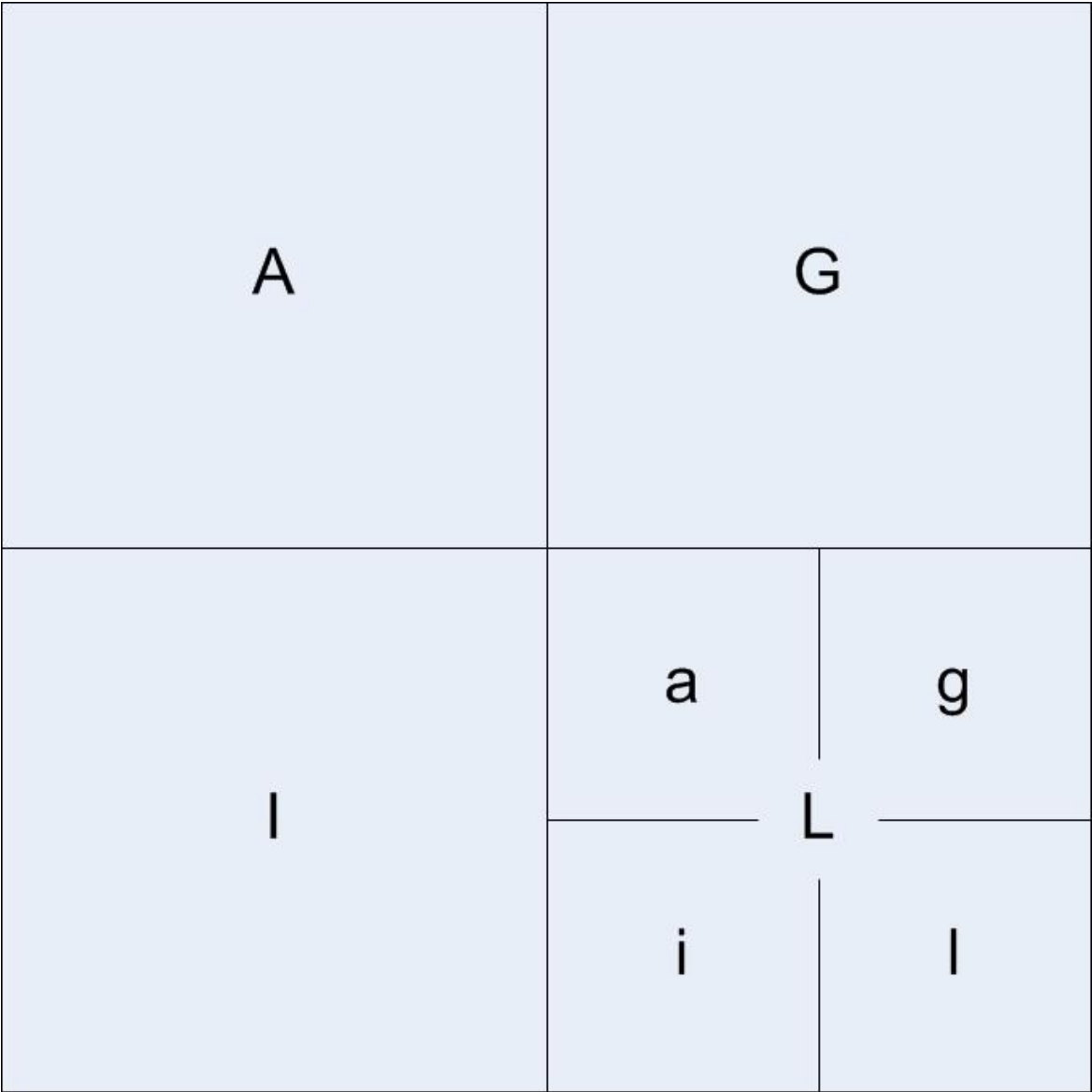
presuming technology use and, at least in its application, relatively neglecting the institutional conditions of interaction with technology. I therefore concluded that my alternative to Mintzberg (1992) needs to be one which can encompass Orlikowski (1992), without falling into the trap identified in section 2.4 of combining concepts from different disciplines and/or schools of thought without caveat or due consideration.

The positional dimension of social practice is one such alternative. Parsons argued that both hierarchical (vertical) and functional (horizontal) distinctions are significant when trying to understand society (1951; 1951; 1953; 1956; 1957; 1960b; 1961). Unlike Mintzberg's (1979) organisational configurations these distinctions can be applied to different social systems. They have been appropriated and adapted by social theorists such as Habermas (1984) and Mouzelis (1995; 2008). Mouzelis' appropriation of Parsons focuses on functional distinctions, as will the first subsection. The second subsection considers a particular critique of Parsons' theory: its supposed underplaying of the possibility of conflict and change. The third and final subsection assesses the relevance of the positional dimension to this thesis and foretells how I use this theory in my own analysis. Throughout, enlightening examples and analyses are used from Sprott (1952; 1963), of which '[w]e know that Parsons approved' (Hamilton, 1992: 137) for 'they helped communicate his theories to a wider audience' (Hamilton, 1992: 137) on this side of the Atlantic.

Functions across levels

Parsons and Smelser assert that a social system must perform four functions in order to maintain itself: 'adaptation', 'goal-attainment', 'integration' and 'latent pattern maintenance' (1956: 16-19). These comprise his AGIL schema. The four functions are performed by the economy (adaptation), polity (goal-attainment), law (integration) and religion/kinship (latent pattern maintenance) (Parsons, 1961). Each of these may be further divided into subsystems concerned with adaptation, goal-attainment, integration and latent pattern maintenance. So, for example, the economy may be further divided into subsystems for investment and capitalisation (adaptation), productivity

(goal-attainment), entrepreneurialism (integration) and economic commitments (latent pattern maintenance) (Sprott, 1963). This is visualised as a set of nested four cell tables in figure 3.2. Such subdivision can continue down to the level of an individual firm (Sprott, 1963).



Label	Subsystem
A, a	Adaptation
G, g	Goal-attainment
I, i	Integration
L, l	Latent pattern maintenance

Figure 3.2 Four functions and system levels (reproduction of Parsons, 1953: 192)

Over time these functions – or subsystems – become increasingly differentiated from one another, demarcated by clear boundaries within which ‘homeostatic and self-generating processes’ (Fox et al., 2005: 158) take place and roles are increasingly specialised (Sprott, 1963). This enables certain developments to occur, for instance, ‘[i]n Parsons’ view the industrial revolution could not have come about unless there had been a differentiation between the polity [G] and religion [L]’ (Sprott, 1963: 151). Conversely, the absence of differentiation impedes certain developments, for instance, in ‘Arab countries’ where ‘religion and law are but ill-differentiated, changes in the direction of Westernization run into difficulties’ (Sprott, 1963: 152).

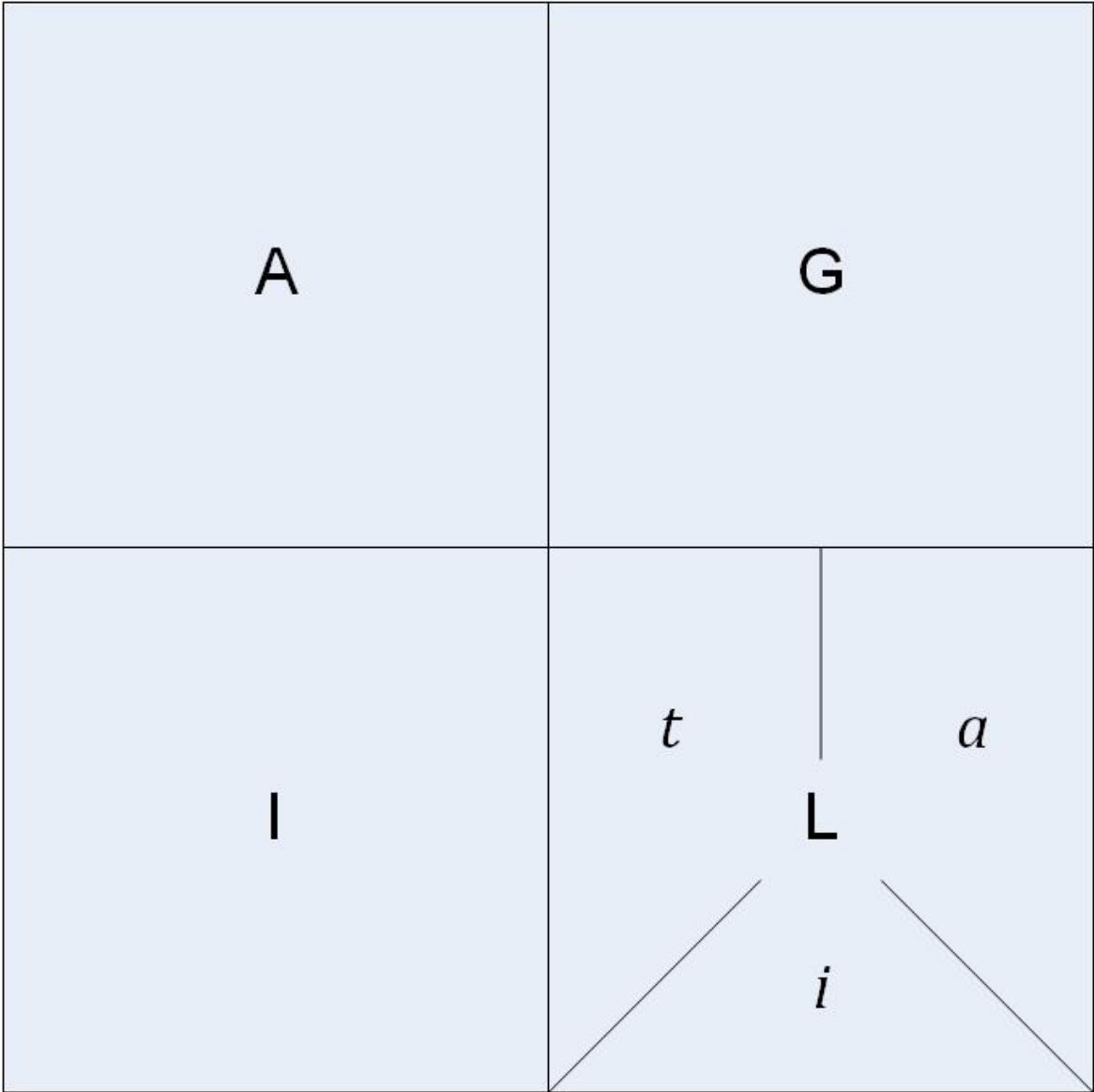
Parsons presents ‘the minimum requirements for any social system, and thereby provides a framework for the analysis of any particular society, and for the comparison between one society and another’ (Sprott, 1963: 152). For ‘[w]e may study a particular religion, a particular legal code, a particular set of economic institutions, but when we do the *sociology* of religion, of law, of economic institutions...we attempt to study the relationship between the religion, the legal code, the economic system and the other features of the society’ (Sprott, 1963: 152).

Mouzelis broadly agrees with Parson’s four functional exigencies. Indeed, he refers to them in arguing the case for the sociological canon:

Following...Parsons, I believe that in a highly differentiated society like ours, the major institutional spheres have their own dynamism, their own logic; and that any attempt to reduce the logic of one sphere to that of another simply leads to various combinations of authoritarianism, barbarism, and obscurantism. Now in so far as those who teach and do research in sociology constitute a relatively autonomous academic community, the logic proper to this community (which Parsons called cognitive rationality) should prevail over neighbouring, competing types of logic, such as that of the market place, of the political party, the church or social movement, etc. (1997: 245)

Both Sprott and Mouzelis, however, identified limits to the application of the AGIL schema. Sprott, an ordinarily sympathetic commentator, found Parsons exasperating in respect of his predilection for applying his AGIL schema to everything: 'all too often...I am confronted with a square divided into four boxes, with the appropriate letters in the corners, and I read in, say, the pattern maintenance box words which don't seem to me to have anything to do with pattern maintenance at all' (1963: 311). This leads him to conclude 'that Parsons is so sold on his squares that when he is dealing with any topic he divides his material into four groups and shoves them into the most plausible boxes' (1963: 311).

In common with Sprott, Mouzelis is sceptical about the universal application of the AGIL schema. He believes that one cannot keep dividing by the AGIL schema at lower levels of analysis, for the division will no longer reflect the functions of collectives or groups of actors, instead it will reify the virtual (1995). Figure 3.3 shows his proposed re-working at lower levels in terms of technological, appropriative and ideological spheres, reflecting a function's own technology, appropriation of such technology and specific ideology. This specific identification of technology would suggest significance when the direct object of the resistance I am studying is ICT. However, technology in the Marxian sense is somewhat broad. Indeed, the example Mouzelis provides is from the latent pattern maintenance function. Technologies through which latency can be achieved include 'administrative apparatuses, techniques of indoctrination, of religious socialization, modes of praying or fasting, technical exercises enhancing spiritual development' (Mouzelis, 1995: 89). Therefore, its relevance will be considered carefully in the application sub-section at the end of this section.



Label	Function/Sphere
A	Adaptation
G	Goal-attainment
I	Integration
L	Latent pattern maintenance
<i>t</i>	Technological
<i>a</i>	Appropriative
<i>i</i>	Ideological

Figure 3.3 Four functions and three spheres (visual representation of Mouzelis, 1995)

Power, conflict and change

Power is embedded in the vertical hierarchy of AGIL systems and subsystems which constitute society. Macro-level actors within each function constrain what happens below them. For example: in the economy (A), competition or co-operation between wholesale commodity traders will set the general framework and basic price parameters for the merchants at meso- and micro-levels; in politics (G), agreements between national leaders will shape the possibilities for regional and local politicians.

However, Parsons' explicit conception of power is as a non-zero sum game i.e. one in which both sides may derive a benefit. This he contrasts with that of Mills ([1959] 1999) who holds a zero sum concept, whereby 'the power A has in a system is, necessarily and by definition, at the expense of B' (Parsons, 1960b: 199). Whilst a zero sum conception leads, naturally, to a concern for who holds power and what sectoral interests they represent, Parsons' non-zero sum conception leads to a concern for how power is generated and what communal interests it serves.

Such a conception of power does not really align with power as the antonym of resistance, as I defined it in section 3.2. What is more directly relevant to adopting or resisting ICTs is Parsons' (1956) conception of change. Changes to social structures may be internal or exogenous. An example of the latter is demographic change. Internal change results from 'strains' (Parsons and Smelser, 1956) within a system: where there are boundaries the subsystems are in contact and can impact on each other. There may be a tension between the adaptive interest in efficiency and the integration interest in universalistic procedural norms (Weber et al., 1968), as well as the polity interest in a civic, common good. Such a strain can result in change by an action passing from the adaptive subsystem to goal-achievement and then via integration to a state of latency where the achievement embeds, tension is dissipated and the system is ready for a new action (Parsons and Smelser, 1956).

Parsons noted that technology played an instrumental role in society, even if subordinate to, and serving the ends of, the adaptation function (Richardson et al., 2006). Technological developments – such as the telephone (Duncan, 1964) – may also disrupt relationships between subsystems. Sprott, Parsons' authorised 'interpreter' (Hamilton, 1992), considers that the strains result from 'goal-deprivation, a feeling that certain goals which are legitimized by the society could be attained, given the existing resources, by a redeployment of them' (Sprott, 1963: 150-151). He provides an example to supplement Parsons' somewhat abstract description in the previous paragraph: the feeling that increased productivity can be achieved by replacing workers with machines. This feeling may not result in structural change because 'it may be brought to heel by the control system' (Sprott, 1963: 151) as it potentially disturbs 'the social relationships between employers and employees' (Sprott, 1963: 148). In other words, adaptation is potentially impacting on integration. If not brought to heel it will build up, and when it 'reaches a certain pitch' will engender 'irrational hopes and fears', for 'there is an element of ambivalence' (Sprott, 1963: 151). If the forces for change are stronger than those of resistance the old order will be examined – if it is 'sufficiently permissive for such a discussion to be allowed' (Sprott, 1963: 151). If a model of the new order is presented and 'backed by persons in strategically important positions' and 'more rewarding to its promoters than the old' (Sprott, 1963: 151) it will persist and thus 'an industrialist might, with the co-operation of his employees, alter the social structural arrangements of his works, without undue disturbance' (Sprott, 1963: 151).

A change to working practices in a particular firm may impact upon other subsystems but is likely to be less significant than a change in the legislation pertaining to working practices. A merit of Parsons' hierarchical model of systems and subsystems is that it helps one to gauge the possibility of social change via the level as 'values and integrative processes are more resistant the wider their coverage, that is the higher up you go' (Sprott, 1963: 151).

For Sprott in Parsons' work '[t]here is the implication of constant strains, and the need for any system to cope with them' (Sprott, 1963: 150) and 'this fuss about order, integration, tension-management and pattern-maintenance' in Parsons means that it would 'be truer to say he is obsessed with' change rather than, in the words of his critics, having an approach that is 'static', with 'no room for conflict' and 'no theory of social change' (Sprott, 1963: 150). Sprott's defence of Parsons on this point has not deterred subsequent critics.

Change, in Parsons' view, even if potentially problematic, is in the collective interest. Such a 'theory of social integration as based on value consensus', however, conceals 'from view the whole range of interests that have concerned so-called "coercion" theorists, precisely under the rubric of "power"' (Lukes, 2005: 33). This defines out of consideration the 'obvious' fact 'that authoritative decisions very often do serve sectional interests and that the most radical conflicts in society stem from struggles for power' (Giddens, 1968: 265). Giddens feels that Parsons' approach reflects a relative lack of concern with conflict:

The conceptualisation of power which Parsons offers allows him to shift the entire weight of his analysis away from power as expressing a relation *between* individuals or groups, toward seeing power as a 'system property'. That collective 'goals', or even the values which lie behind them, may be the outcome of a 'negotiated order' built on conflicts between parties holding differential power is ignored, since for Parsons 'power' assumes the prior existence of collective goals. (1968: 265)

Post-Parsons, others within the functionalist frame have considered the existence of conflict arising from different goals. Adaptation, for instance, 'having become more autonomous...can be seen as itself out of control, distant from other spheres of action, and no longer oriented to the problems that are meaningful to solve in the first place... [adaptation] may be perceived as producing more problems than it solves, becoming controlled by its own products, and creating uncertainty' (Lechner, 1985: 162). Differentiation may become uneven (Colomy, 1985), then, even in a

Westernised context. Amongst systems of comparable development and differentiation there may also be conflicts, as well as strains, due to the orientation of each system to different goals and their regulation by different values.

The conflict which results from one system being penetrated by another is illustrated by Mouzelis through an example from the realm of education. The university is undermined by its transformation 'into a huge supermarket where students can pick and choose subjects...compatible with their own experiences' (Mouzelis, 1997: 250). This 'crass commercialization of academia' has primarily been brought about by 'the prevailing neoliberal ideology' leading to a 'monologic type of "rationalization/modernization"' (Mouzelis, 1997: 250). Such a rationalization 'tends systematically to subordinate the academic ethos to the managerial one' (Mouzelis, 1997: 250). Cognitive rationality – which for Parsons should be dominant in a university – 'was weakened by measures such as the abolition of tenure, the adoption of managerial forms of "quality control"' (Mouzelis, 1999: 146). For Mouzelis this state of affairs does not render Parsons redundant as it cannot abolish the differentiation between the educational and economic subsystems. It does not bring the British system of higher education back to a situation where the educational function is embedded in, for instance, religious or kinship institutions (Mouzelis, 1999). Rather 'the differentiated parts' are 'unbalanced'; 'the logic of one subsystem peripheralizes that of another' (Mouzelis, 1999: 146). Habermas, whose lifeworld concept assumes the 'integration' and 'latency' functions of Parsons (Crossley, 2005) and whose system concept assumes the economy and polity functions, makes related points (Habermas, 1987).

A more positive way of expressing the absence of conflict in Parsons is to attribute it to his concern 'to solve the Hobbesian problem of order' (Sklair, 2003: 178) i.e. 'why society does not fall apart, why people do what has to be done, and, a more recent aspect...how social evolution guarantees more efficient solutions of these problems' (Sklair, 2003: 177). This leads to a relative lack of resistance, hence why the power arrow is significantly larger than the resistance arrow in the

positional dimension of my diagram (figure 3.1). The four functions outlined by Parsons have, whilst not being especially popular, proved influential in the work of Mouzelis and Habermas. This positional dimension does, in the view of Mouzelis, yield unique and useful findings; indeed, in some cases where there are clearly defined roles and positions it may alone be sufficient for comprehending a social practice (Mouzelis, 1995).

Application

I use this positional dimension of social practice to answer, for my chosen fieldwork site, my second subsidiary question: how do the structures and functions of an organisation impact on, or relate to, resistance to ICTs? I apply Parsons' AGIL schema to understand both horizontal linkages between functions as well as vertical linkages between levels. I do so twice, so that my focus, the meso-level of an organisation, is set in the context of both macro- and micro-levels. The first time the four quadrants represent macro-level functions and one of these, determined by the function of my chosen organisation, is broken down to its meso-level components. The second time these meso-level functions become the four quadrants and again, determined by the function of my chosen organisation, one of these is broken down to its micro-level components. Without both diagrams it is not possible to see how power from the macro-level bears down upon the meso, as shown by the top left arrow in figure 3.1, or how the meso-level breaks down to the micro. At each level, alongside the diagram, the functions are identified, described and analysed although attention is paid to avoid the trap that Sprott considered Parsons had fallen into i.e. writing in 'the pattern maintenance box words which don't seem to me to have anything to do with pattern maintenance at all' (1963: 311). In view of my focus on ICTs, of particular interest are the relations between the function of my chosen organisation and the adaptation function, as it is in the economy that Parsons placed technology (Richardson et al., 2006).

Parsons' AGIL schema is at its most problematic when applied to lower levels of analysis: the division no longer reflects the functions of collectives or groups of actors (Mouzelis, 1995). In

chapter 5 I am therefore cautious and critical in applying his schema to lower level analysis, keeping both Mouzelis' alternative, phrased in terms of technological, appropriative and ideological spheres, in mind, as well as Orlikowski's structurational model of technology. At the lower level I also apply Mouzelis' proposed re-working in terms of technological, appropriative and ideological spheres. Applying this constitutes the first empirical application of Mouzelis' re-working and helps identify its utility, or not, for others. Mouzelis draws upon Marx's appropriation philosophies which similarly inspired, via Ollman's (1971) reading, Orlikowski's structurational model of technology (Delaney, 2008). This opens up the logical potential of using Orlikowski's model in combination with Mouzelis' technological, appropriative and ideological spheres for the micro-level analysis of a given function. I grasp this opportunity and apply it, too.

Parsons did not elsewhere especially engage with the other dimensions of social practice. His relative neglect of 'non-normative interests' as determinants of social action (Giddens, 1968: 265) means that Mouzelis considers the positional dimension useful but limited. Whilst organisations have collective goals, and values which lie behind them, the possibility of conflict, negotiation and coercion cannot be ignored. As my primary research question (RQ) is about resistance, an inescapable corollary of power, answering this question requires supplementary consideration of such neglected 'non-normative interests'. Mouzelis provides for this in his synthesis by embracing the work of Bourdieu in the formulation of the dispositional dimension of social practice, the focus of the next section.

3.4 Dispositional

My third subsidiary question (SQ3) is: how do the field and *doxa* of the organisation and the *habitus* and capitals of the individuals within it impact on, or relate to, resistance to ICTs? In other words, how the setting of an organisation and the formation of the individuals within it interact with ICTs. In order to learn more about how the field and *doxa* of the organisation and the *habitus* and capitals of the individuals within it impact on, or relate to, resistance to ICTs in section 2.4 I explored

and evaluated the potential contribution of extant literature which has engaged with the importance and impact of individuals' characteristics upon ICT adoption and resistance. I found that the extant ICT literature tends to use models which propose characteristics of those who are likely to engage with ICTs, via which one can make assumptions about those who don't i.e. who resist. However, these characteristics cannot provide a complete account of resistance and contextual factors matter, factors which might be better explored by a broader, qualitative, approach. In contrast, discourses from the social sciences concerning resistance to ICTs, which focus on deficits of the individual, do not provide for a positive digital choice against ICTs. I concluded that the complex nature of resistance to ICTs means I need to consider alternatives: that I do in this section.

The second, dispositional, dimension of Mouzelis (1995; 2008) is derived from Bourdieu and is concerned with the mental patterns of perception, appreciation and action that an actor acquires – what Bourdieu (1990) terms *habitus*. This is conceptually distinct from the field, a structured set of positions, such as education (Bourdieu et al., 1977), from which an actor acquires dispositions and to which an actor brings their dispositions to bear, helping to reproduce the field. The distinction between field and *habitus* permits friction or conflict between positions and dispositions and thus does not reduce agency to the norms, roles and responsibilities imposed upon the actor, as in Mouzelis' reading of Parsons and one of the potential limitations of an exclusively positional focus. In this section, I explore each of Bourdieu's concepts of field, capital, *habitus*, *doxa* and symbolic violence in turn. In the final subsection I assess the relevance of this dispositional dimension to answering my research question and foretell how I use this theory in my own analysis.

Field

A field, according to Bourdieu, is a network of social relations, a structured system of social positions, within which struggles, or manoeuvres, take place over resources (Bourdieu, 1990). An

organisation may be considered a field (Emirbayer and Johnson, 2008; Vaughan, 2008) as it is a social unit with rules governing its functioning and it is a space within which games take place between individuals competing for personal advantage. However, the totality of relevant actors extends beyond the organisation (DiMaggio and Powell, 1983) and therefore it is perhaps better considered a subfield rather than an entire field.

Bourdieu distinguishes between generalised and restricted fields (Bourdieu, 1985). A generalised field of production, for example, may produce cultural goods destined for consumption by the 'public at large' (Bourdieu, 1985: 17) whereas a restricted field may produce cultural goods for producers of other cultural goods. If a restricted field has been colonised it tends towards heteronomy. An indicator of this is success being measured by a non-field-specific index, for instance income. In contrast, if a restricted field has resisted colonisation it tends towards autonomy. An indicator of this is success being measured according to the criteria of legitimacy specific to that field. In perfectly autonomous fields 'practices [are] based...on a systematic inversion of the fundamental principle of all ordinary economies, that of business, that of power, and even that of institutionalized cultural authority' (Bourdieu, 1983: 320). It would be governed by charisma, aesthetic intention and disinterestedness rather than commerce.

Agents within a restricted field may be unaware of the extent of colonisation: their efforts are directed towards obtaining advantage through the accumulation of symbolic capital respective to their field. Thus barristers might struggle to achieve a cultural, rather than an economic, profit by using the most eloquent argument. Likewise, in the field of politics, spin doctors may compete for the non-economic profit which derives from gaining control over the power invested in the state (Cronin, 1996). To suggest that the true nature of the relations underlying the field and its reproduction is economic profit, or even that there are contradictions inherent in the field, would be 'sacrilege *par excellence*, the unforgivable sin which all the censorships constituting the field seek to repress' (Bourdieu, 1983: 354).

In Mouzelis' (2008) reading of Bourdieu fields – as structured, hierarchical, sets of social positions – they are synonymous with the positional dimension, for which Mouzelis usually uses Parsons' AGIL schema. However, according to Bourdieu his fields do differ from Parsons' systems. The fact that they are sites of struggles and endless change makes fields different than 'systems,' for systems 'postulate common function, internal cohesion, and self-regulation' (Bourdieu and Wacquant, 1992: 103). The extent of difference may depend upon the context. For example, if an organisation is a 'total institution' (Goffman, 1961b) there will likely be common function, internal cohesion and self-regulation and therefore the Parsonian system and the Bourdieusian field will be very similar.

Capital

Capital is used by Bourdieu (1984) as a term which encompasses the resources for which struggles or manoeuvres take place in the field. It may take many different forms: in this subsection I explore relevant ones, where appropriate referring to the work of Kvasny and Keil (2006). In their work Bourdieu's capitals (1984) are adopted as broad categories to encompass what actors bring – or not – from their *habitus* into the field of play in a study of the digital divide. The authors, however, explicitly state that their research is about assimilation, not resistance, for resistance studies focus 'on counter-cultures and conflict... at odds with the aim of our study because digital divide initiatives are purported to support the inclusion of under-represented groups' (Kvasny and Keil, 2006: 31).

Economic capital consists of monetary and material wealth, virtual or physical. Kvasny and Keil found that economic capital in some cases impacted upon ICT use, but usually only after training at a community technology centre: 'Looking at all of that technology upset me. It made me realize that I really needed to make some money...' (2006: 41). Before that, economic capital was not an issue: even those who had bought or been given a computer weren't inclined to use it.

In comparison to economic capital, cultural capital, whilst still valuable and worth accumulating, is generally less tangible. It may be manifested through a person, via their possessions, or carried in the form of certificates. When manifested through a person it is termed embodied cultural capital. This is a product of 'external wealth converted into an integral part of the person' (Bourdieu, 1986: 244), in the form of 'long-lasting dispositions of the mind and body' (Bourdieu, 1986: 243), such as knowledge, skill and taste. When cultural capital is manifested via a person's possessions it is termed objectified cultural capital. It may be seen in 'cultural goods' such as pictures, books, dictionaries, instruments, machines, and, especially, writing (Bourdieu, 1986: 243). Embodied capital is a precondition for appreciating objectified capital: 'profits' from objectified capital 'can only be obtained in proportion to the extent of the holder's embodied capital' (Bourdieu, 1986: 247). When cultural capital is carried in the form of certificates it is termed institutionalised or certified capital. It implies 'officially recognized, guaranteed competence' (Bourdieu, 1986: 243) and separates the 'last successful candidate from the first unsuccessful one' (Bourdieu, 1986: 248). Cultural capital is more disguised than economic capital as it is less straightforward to obtain, resulting from education and family (Bourdieu, 1986). Kvasny and Keil found that effective ICT use, 'computing skills' in their study, which is itself a cultural capital, relied upon a certain level of another cultural capital, basic literacy: without it users 'did not spell well enough for the spell checker to be of much assistance' (2006: 39).

Social capital can be defined as the powers and the resources that stem from networks of relationships. These are not simply connections but may be the manners, bearing, and pronunciation that derive from membership of a prestigious group (Bourdieu, 1986: 256). Kvasny and Keil (2006) found that it was through social networks that people came to the community technology centres of their study; once through the door, the friendships the participants formed enhanced this capital further.

Bourdieu also identifies important variants of social capital. One is political capital, which, via the social networks such as political parties and trade unions, '[g]uarantees its holders a private appropriation of goods and public services (residences, cars, hospitals, schools, and so on' (Bourdieu, 2010: 16). More broadly it can be 'associated with control over and among actors, and particularly coercive power, of any societal institution' (Casey, 2008: 7).

Similarly, Bourdieu identifies religious capital as another variant of social capital. This comprises both practical mastery and knowledgeable mastery. Practical mastery is a pre-reflexive scheme of thinking and action acquired through familiarisation, experience rather than explicit teaching. Its acquisition is open to all members of a religious group. In contrast, knowledgeable mastery is acquired through systematic instruction in the body of knowledge by a specialist institution, such as a seminary. The most coveted knowledge is of what Bourdieu terms the 'goods of salvation' (1987: 132; 1991: 15) such as the sacraments. This esoteric or secret knowledge Bourdieu sees as the preserve of the official priesthood and hoarded by the hierarchy of the Church. Thus the production and reproduction of this form of religious capital sustains the distinction between priest and laity (Bourdieu, 1991), distinguishing those that have it from those they (purport to) serve who are subject to its power.

Bourdieu's concept of religious capital is not without its issues. It is shaped by a particular appropriation of French Roman Catholicism, especially with respect to the priest/laity distinction which can limit its applicability to a narrow range of contexts. According to Guest: 'An uncritical application of Bourdieu's model to non-Christian or indeed non Roman Catholic contexts would risk serious misrepresentation of the phenomena under study' (2007: 188). Further, Bourdieu's focus on networks of power is of limited utility when addressing bounded communities like denominations or congregations rather than a global canvas (Rey, 2004).

Mouzelis, meanwhile, develops the concept of spiritual capital. Spiritual capital disappears as one tries to instrumentally acquire it; thus it is very different from Bourdieu's concept of religious

capital which can, for example, be hoarded by the Vatican. Hidden away in an Appendix, Mouzelis describes this so well that I feel it justified to quote his words at length:

One could argue...that a concern with spirituality might simply lead to yet another type of accumulation, that of amassing religious or spiritual capital (Bourdieu does in fact speak of religious capital). To this I would reply that the search for genuine spirituality is radically different from the search for wealth (A), political power (G), social prestige (I) or cultural influence (L); it is less instrumental, more 'expressive'. If spirituality is sought for the purpose of achieving other goals – such as eternal life, peace of mind, mystic experiences – then, unlike in the other four cases, the spiritual capital is destroyed. It is only when the 'beneficial' results of the spiritual game are the genuinely unintended results of an 'expressive' search for the 'divine' (inside or outside oneself) that spiritual 'progress' is possible. Therefore, if one can speak at all of accumulation of spiritual capital, it is an accumulation qualitatively different from that of other types of capital: it is an accumulation that is radically incompatible with any type of instrumentality, however elevated or ethereal it might be. Unlike all other types, spiritual capital disappears once one begins to regard it as something to be hoarded. (Mouzelis, 1995: 203)

All these forms of capital may become symbolic capital when they are legitimated. Symbolic capital gives one 'the power to consecrate' (Bourdieu, 1989: 23), to impose both the legitimate vision of the world and the way in which social fields are organised as specific hierarchies of position and capital. Symbolic capital is by definition always misrecognised. For example, businesses may accrue reputation for environmental stewardship or community development projects that bear their names. This reputation, the legitimacy of these actors, is misrecognised, because it is not seen for what it is, an expression of economic capital.

Each form of capital is manifest in a different 'currency' e.g. sterling, qualifications or physical objects (Bourdieu, 1985). Bourdieu also suggests that each form has a different degree of liquidity,

convertibility, and susceptibility to attrition. Cultural and linguistic capital is acquired only slowly through the processes of formal schooling and family education (Bourdieu et al., 1977), and is not susceptible to attrition. Economic capital, in contrast, can be won and lost overnight. All of the forms of capital are interconnected (Bourdieu and Wacquant, 1992). Where individuals have a good deal of one type of capital (e.g. economic), they will likely also have relatively large amounts of other types of capital (e.g. linguistic, symbolic). However, the distribution of economic capital can also be the inverse of the distribution of cultural capital. For example, avant-garde artists and academics may have significant cultural capital but relatively little economic capital (Bourdieu, 1998). In such cases, individuals may discredit 'the form of capital upon which the force of their opponents rests and often try to valorize the species of capital they preferentially possess or support' (Bourdieu and Wacquant, 1992: 99).

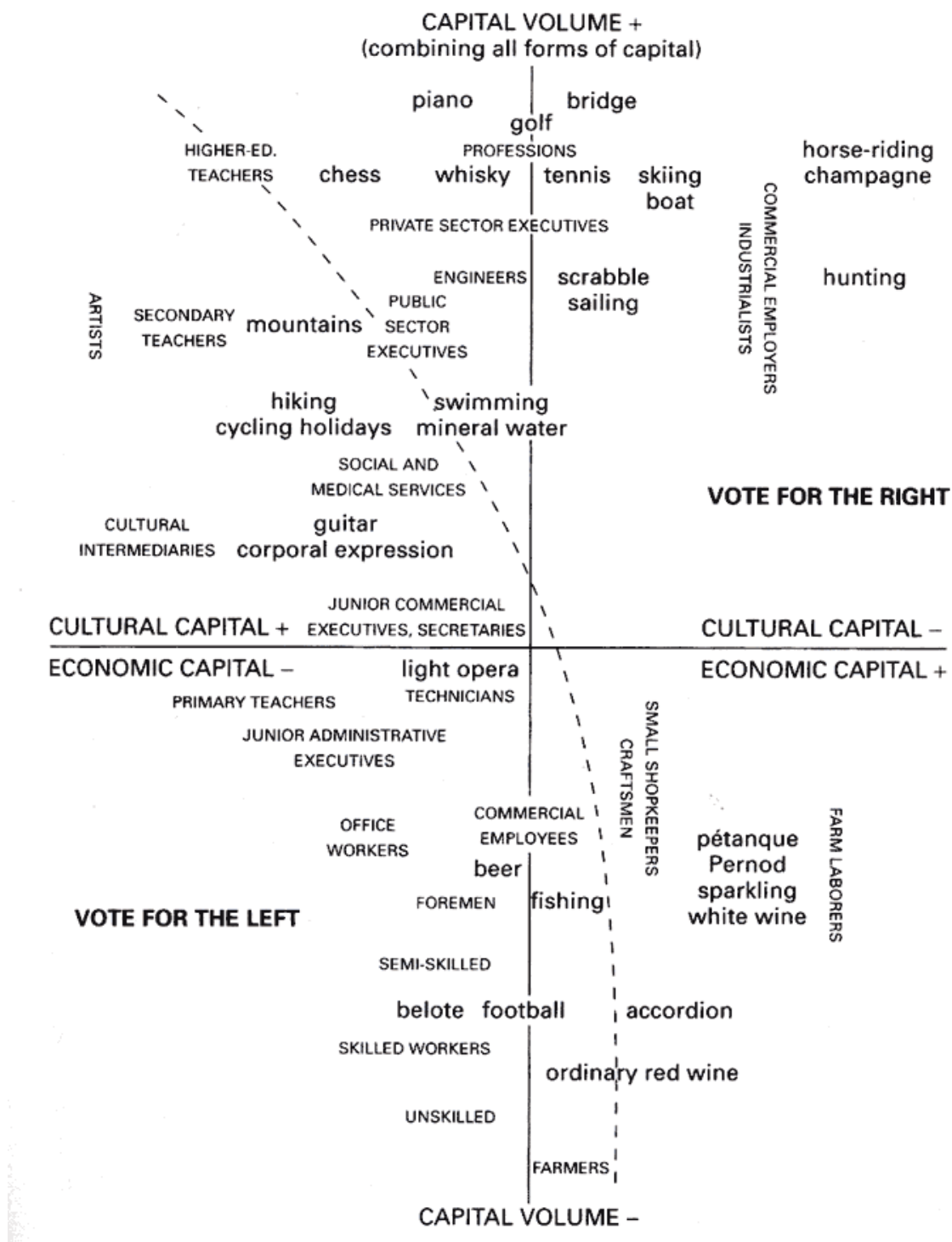


Figure 3.4 Social space, activity, perspective and behaviour (Bourdieu, 1998: 5)

Based on Bourdieu's survey data (2010), figure 3.4 illustrates how social spaces, constructed by the distribution of capital, are prone to homologous cultural activities, professions and political perspectives. Economic capital increases, and cultural capital decreases, from left to right whilst

the overall volume of capital increases from bottom to top. Not only does taste reflect class and education, but also taste, as consumer preference, is a form of social positioning (Bourdieu, 1984). Those with cultural wealth may mark this with consumption of whisky while those with economic wealth may mark this with consumption of champagne; those with a lesser volume of capital may consume ordinary red wine.

As this diagram displays, individuals are distributed in social space 'dependent upon the volume and structure of capital they possess' (Bourdieu, 1989: 17). What it cannot show is that such distribution is never static for the field is in a state of flux. Colonisation from beyond, individual experience, unforeseen events and constant struggle make the social space dynamic. Further, someone's position in social space is not only dependent on the (always changing) capital they possess. It depends also on what Bourdieu terms '*habitus*'.

Habitus

Habitus is the 'durably inculcated system of structured, structuring dispositions' found within a field (Bourdieu, 1990: 52). It is 'the social inscribed in the body...a feel for or sense of the "social game"...the source of most practices...a tendency to generate regulated behaviours apart from any reference to rules' (Bourdieu, 1962: 111). *Habitus* exists in an individual social actor's matrix of perception, appreciation and action (Bourdieu and Wacquant, 1992). Like a field, it is not static or eternal for it is a combination of the actor's deeply ingrained identity and their less fixed occupational identity. *Habitus* is also constantly subjected to many and varied experiences, some reinforcing, others modifying (Bourdieu and Wacquant, 1992).

Although society may be within the individual as their *habitus*, *habitus* is also constitutive of the field, because *habitus* works in a dialectical fashion (Bourdieu, 1990). As Bourdieu notes: 'the field, as a structured space, tends to structure the *habitus*, while the *habitus* tends to structure the perceptions of the field' (Bourdieu, 1988: 784). Furthermore, *habitus* may be manifest in different ways: as a unifying cultural code (the collective *habitus*), an internalised cultural code (the

dispositional *habitus*) or as the practice of a characteristic style (the manifest *habitus*) (Nash, 1990). These ideas of the field structuring the *habitus* and unifying, internalised cultural codes surface in Oakes et al.'s (1998) organisational research. Although business plans were advocated as a way to control spending and to introduce accountability into their fieldwork organisation's operations, business plans also changed the distribution and relative weight of the forms of capital (from cultural to economic). This change in the field's capital in turn changed the identities, or more precisely the *habitus* of those in the field. In Bourdieu's conceptual scheme, the building blocks of *habitus*, the postulates and axioms, or, even more fundamentally, the binary oppositions, labels, and categories we use to understand the world, are termed *doxa*.

Doxa and symbolic violence

Where 'the established cosmological and political order is perceived not as arbitrary, that is, as one possible order among others, but as a self-evident and natural order' (Bourdieu et al., 1977: 166) the doxic society may be found. In a doxic society 'what is essential goes without saying because it comes without saying: the tradition is silent, not least about itself as a tradition' (Bourdieu et al., 1977: 167).

Where *doxa* or common sense produces an unequal, yet legitimated, distribution of personal capital 'symbolic violence' (Bourdieu and Eagleton, 1992) may be found. This can do what political violence can do, only more efficiently (Bourdieu and Wacquant, 1992). One example is the so-called Protestant work ethic which is prevalent in many countries (Weber, 1930; Buchholz, 2000; Bell and Taylor, 2003). What this ethic does not endorse is time with family, friends, and community. What this myth does not speak of are the constraints on career mobility imposed by not having the necessary linguistic, social, political, and/or cultural capital. Imposing themselves as self-evident and universal, work and pay structures in the modern corporation can be seen as doxic structures, sites of symbolic violence.

Where questions of legitimacy arise, 'symbolic struggles' (Bourdieu, 1989) are fought. Such questions are, to put it in Bourdieu's terms, challenges to the common sense, to *doxa*. These come in the form of heterodox discourses which provoke counter-efforts to defend *doxa* and the appearance of (neo-)orthodox discourses. The key symbolic struggle is over classification (Bourdieu, 1989). The power to make visible and explicit social divisions which are implicit, is political power par excellence. It is 'the power to make groups...to manipulate the objective structure of society' (Bourdieu, 1989: 23).

Power and reproduction

Taken together, these concepts of *doxa*, *habitus*, symbolic violence and capital form a cycle in Bourdieu's work. *Doxa*, composed of the postulates, axioms, binary oppositions, labels, and categories we use to understand the world, structures the *habitus*. This *habitus* motivates actions, which in autonomous fields reproduce the structure and quantity of capital in the field. Where the actions motivated by the *habitus* are rooted in *doxa*, and where they lead to an unequal distribution of capital, there is symbolic violence. Such domination can be, if rarely in practice, challenged.

Such a cycle can be thought to lead to reproduction of social systems far more than transformation (Nash, 2003). The unconscious influence of *habitus* challenges the notion of a free and independent subject: 'meanings and consequences of action are not transparent to the actors themselves... *habitus* is that part of practices which remain obscure in the eyes of their own producers' (Bourdieu and Nice, 1977: 72-87). Whilst this might suggest that Bourdieu adds little, in practice, to Parsons, social capital represents an ensemble of relationships and knowledge, a social network which may extend across different Parsonian functions. Thus in this respect Bourdieu provides for a greater degree of class power than does Parsons.

Despite this possible limitation of emphasising reproduction over transformation, Nash considers that: 'Bourdieu's work enjoys a status unparalleled in contemporary sociology, particularly in the

area of cultural studies' (2003: 44). Nash, in part, attributes this status to the situation where 'criticism of his approach, in this increasingly well-defended field, is often perceived as unwelcome' (2003: 44). However, there is, in Bourdieu's work, the possibility of some degree of conscious action: social agents do weigh their 'interests' prior to any action. It is just that these strategies are always in some way constrained. The concept of *habitus* is thus intended to provide the mediating link between social structure (the macro) and individual action (the micro).

Application

I use this dispositional dimension of social practice to answer, for my chosen fieldwork site, my third subsidiary question: how do the field and *doxa* of the organisation and the *habitus* and capitals of the individuals within it impact on, or relate to, resistance to ICTs? The second, dispositional, dimension of Mouzelis (1995; 2008) is derived from Bourdieu and is concerned with the mental patterns of perception, appreciation and action that an actor acquires – what Bourdieu terms *habitus* (Bourdieu, 1990). The *habitus* as a mediating link between macro-level structures and micro-level action helps answer my overall research question: what determines the nature and extent of organisational resistance to ICTs? In view of the importance of the concept, both for my study as well as the work of Bourdieu and Mouzelis, it forms the initial focus of my application of the dispositional dimension of social practice in chapter 6. In view of the disagreement of Mouzelis with Bourdieu over the possibility of intra-*habitus* contradictions (recognised by Mouzelis but not Bourdieu) I pay particular attention to whether any exist within the organisation. However, identifying the constitution of the organisation's *habitus* cannot entirely be achieved without considering Bourdieu's other concepts of capitals, field, *doxa* and symbolic violence which work together.

Habitus is more likely to reproduce the structured, hierarchical, sets of social positions which comprise the field where the field is more autonomous. I therefore apply the concept of Bourdieu's fields to my chosen fieldwork site. This is especially important in light of the difference between

Mouzelis' (2008) reading of Bourdieu fields as synonymous with the positional dimension, for which Mouzelis usually uses Parsons' AGIL schema, and Bourdieu's view that his fields do differ from Parsons' systems (Bourdieu and Wacquant, 1992). If the organisation is a 'total institution' (Goffman, 1961b) there will likely be common function, internal cohesion and self-regulation and therefore the Parsonian system and the Bourdieusian field will likely be very similar.

Although Bourdieu may also emphasise reproduction over transformation, his distinction between field and *habitus* permits friction or conflict between positions and dispositions and thus does not reduce agency to the norms, roles and responsibilities imposed upon the actor (as in Mouzelis' reading of Parsons). Using Bourdieu thus theoretically opens up the possibility of conflict between an individual's position and their disposition. If the *habitus* reproduces the field, it will do so by reproducing the variety and balance of capitals within it (Bourdieu, 1984). In chapter 6 I therefore consider the distribution of capitals within my fieldwork site.

Links can be made between the distribution of capitals and Parsons' AGIL schema used for the positional dimension. Within the adaptation subsystem one would expect economic capital to be key, within the goal-attainment system political capital, within the integration subsystem social capital and within the latent pattern maintenance subsystem cultural capital (Mouzelis, 1995). In this section links have already been made between Bourdieu's capitals (Bourdieu, 1984) and ICTs, through the work of Kvasny and Keil (2006). However, further connections can be made with the established explanations of excluded or peripheral users of technology as explored in section 2.4. Material deficiency (e.g. Murdock et al., 1996) – and alternative views on its significance (Neice, 1998; Kling, 1999) – can be considered a deficit of economic capital. Cognitive deficiency, and technophobia, if defined very closely to that of lack of experience (Todman and Monaghan, 1994; Miller, 1994), can be considered a deficit of 'computing skills' (Kvasny and Keil, 2006), a form of cultural capital. Ideology (e.g. Dijk, 2006) constitutes part of the *habitus* rather than being a capital in itself (Bourdieu and Nice, 1977). The 'laggards' of Rogers (2003), to the extent that they possess

few external contacts could be considered lacking in social capital. Through these links the application of the dispositional dimension connects to the extant research on resistance to ICTs.

Further, what Bourdieu writes about domination and struggle may well map onto the concepts of power and resistance. An organisation where ‘the established cosmological and political order is perceived...as a self-evident and natural order’ (Bourdieu et al., 1977: 166) will be a very powerful one. The unequal distribution of personal capital and its legitimation – ‘symbolic violence’ (Bourdieu and Eagleton, 1992) – will make resistance rare, especially as *doxa* appears to be common sense and there is therefore little scope for symbolic struggle. In applying the dispositional dimension, I therefore look for the unequal distribution of personal capital and assess whether the organisation is doxic.

More generally, Mouzelis thinks that there is the possibility of conscious, strategic action resulting from one’s *habitus*; so as to incorporate this into his synthesis he turns to Elias. Mouzelis agrees with the major criticism of Bourdieu (Nash, 2003), that his theory ‘underemphasizes the rational, calculative, and reflexive aspects of human action’ (Mouzelis, 2008: 139). As a consequence: ‘The *habitus* concept cannot account effectively for social practices unless its connections are shown with not only positional and institutional but also with interactive and figural structures’ (Mouzelis, 2008: 139). In other words, if it is used in conjunction with the other dimensions of social practice derived from Parsons and Elias. The figural dimension, derived from Elias, is the focus of the next section.

3.5 Figural

My fourth subsidiary question (SQ4) is what constellations of positions and dispositions form and evolve? In other words, how the answers to my previous two subsidiary questions (SQ2 and SQ3), positions and dispositions, transform over time. In order to learn more about how constellations of positions and dispositions form and evolve in the context of my fieldwork site, in section 2.5 I explored and evaluated the potential contribution of Lapointe and Rivard’s (2007) attempt to fit

together the previously-mentioned models in a framework that provides for both longitudinal and level aspects of IS implementation. The particular components of Lapointe and Rivard's (2007) framework suited micro-level resistance towards bespoke IS in hospitals or other professional bureaucracies, the object of their research. Although the specific components are not so suited to meso-level resistance towards off-the-shelf ICTs in other organisational contexts, the model shows, which is relevant to this study, the importance of the level and longitudinal aspects of ICT adoption. Resistance to ICTs will change over time, and any other framework used in this study will have to provide for this. Similarly, the framework will also need to provide for the study of the different levels, macro- and micro- as well as meso-, to capture the reality of meso-level resistance. This chapter develops such a framework.

The third, figurational, dimension of social practice is derived by Mouzelis from Elias and is concerned with evolving webs of interdependent humans; what Elias terms social figurations. The approach of 'figurational sociology' seeks to counter an over-emphasis on static elements by emphasising dynamic processes. It thus shifts focus away from actors to actions. It is often referred to as 'process sociology' because this approach not only looks to examine society by examining the present but, also, by researching historical developments, in other words, to research the topic at hand as a 'process'. Encapsulating this, Elias engaged with the concept of *habitus* (Elias et al., 2000), as did Bourdieu, but Elias did so over a much broader canvas. For Elias power is not an institution or a structure but far more polymorphous. In this section, I explore each of Elias' concepts of figurations, established and outsider relations, unintended consequences, individual *habitus* and power relations in turn. In the final subsection I assess the relevance of this figurational dimension to answering my research question and foretell how I use this theory in my own analysis.

Figurations

Figurational sociologists argue that humans form chains of figurations or interdependence and therefore cannot be separated from society: 'human individuals can only be understood in their

interdependencies with each other, as part of networks of social relations, or what he [Elias] often referred to as 'figurations' (Van Krieken, 1998: 6). For example, Elias was concerned with the historical development of the *habitus* of Europeans, tracing back early modern standards of bodily behaviour (such as speech, eating, sex and fighting) to a nucleus of medieval court etiquette. The increasingly centralised early modern state and the increasingly differentiated and interconnected web of society resulted in increasing thresholds of shame and repugnance and, therefore, self-restraint (Elias et al., 2000). The concept of evolving webs or social figurations was refined into a sociological approach to explain the emergence of social structures via individual agency (Elias et al., 1978) and applied to sport (Elias and Dunning, 2008). Elias drew on everyday language to illustrate the approach. Personal pronouns such as 'I', 'you', 'he', 'she', 'we' and 'they' can be used to represent positions in society and articulate the inter-connectedness of social life, since each position can only be understood in the context of, and with reference to, the other positions. Further, these positions are dynamic rather than static: members of groups may 'say "we" of themselves and "they" of other people; but they may say "we" and "they" of different people as time goes by' (Elias et al., 1978: 128).

Established and outsider relations

The concept of established and outsider relations emerged out of research (Elias et al., 2008b) exploring community in terms of human interdependencies within a shared geographical locale. Elias was essentially concerned with the means by which 'members of groups which are, in terms of power, stronger than other interdependent groups, think of themselves in human terms as better than the others' (2008b: xv). He considered that 'in all these cases the "superior" people may make the less powerful people themselves feel they lack virtue - that they are inferior in human terms' (Elias et al., 2008b: xvi). In other words, established and outsider relations are characterised by the normalisation of relations of dominance and subordination. A key feature of the established and outsider relations relates to Elias's earlier work on civilising processes, whereby 'the established almost invariably experience and present themselves as more "civilized" and

outsiders are constructed as more “barbaric” (Van Krieken, 1998: 151). Not only are outsiders constructed as uncivilised, unrestrained and unrespectable, acceptance by the established requires them to adopt forms of behaviour, social norms and values defined as civilised and respectable by the established.

Unintended consequences

A network of people within a figuration often work towards a common outcome or action. However, figural sociologists highlight that for ‘human beings who engage in intentional action, the outcome of the combination of human action is most often unplanned and unintended’ (Van Krieken, 1998: 6). It is therefore the task for sociologists to analyse the transformation of intentional human action into ‘unintended patterns of social life’ (Van Krieken, 1998: 6). For Elias these unintended patterns constitute an unplanned order. Individuals do exercise agency but not in circumstances of their own making and, due to the relational nature of social life and human interdependencies, a choice exercised by one individual ‘becomes interwoven with those of others; it unleashes further chains of actions, the direction and provisional outcome of which depend not on him [sic] but on the distribution of power and the structure of tensions within this whole mobile human network’ (Elias et al., 2010: 49-50). Individuals are both free to act in social interactions and, at the same time, are constrained by their social position. Elias’ unplanned order is thus similar in outcome to Bourdieu’s *habitus*, and it is with *habitus* that Elias also articulates the interdependent relationship between the individual, the collective and social structures.

Individual *habitus*

Elias makes a distinction between the individual, subjective *habitus* as embodied in individuals and the social, collective *habitus* based on shared experiences and social position. The latter is similar to Bourdieu’s *habitus*, the former, however, is not. Individual *habitus*, the habits, dispositions and practices ‘specific to a particular person’ (Fletcher, 1997: 11) will be unique to them: individually authored as well as subjectively experienced. However, although individual *habitus* has uniqueness

to it, it is always grounded in the social, collective, *habitus*, 'the soil from which grow the personal characteristics through which an individual differs from other members of his society' (Elias et al., 2010: 182). As Elias adopted a process view of social life, *habitus* forms and reforms over time: our 'whole outlook on life continues to be psychologically tied to yesterday's social reality, although today's and tomorrow's reality already differs greatly from yesterday's' (Elias, 1995: 35).

Power relations

Within figurational sociology, no simple distinction between the 'powerful' and 'powerless' can be made, for all those within society are 'inextricably bound up with power chances' (Mennell, 1998: 95). Certainly, some individuals, or groups of individuals, have more power chances than others. However, for Elias, power is a structural characteristic of a relationship rather than a 'thing' someone possesses: 'we depend on others; others depend on us' (1978: 93). The longer the chain of interdependence, or wider the web of figurations, the more dependant individuals become and, therefore, it becomes less likely any individual will 'have' absolute power: 'power balances, like human relationships in general are bi-polar at least, and usually multi-polar' (Elias et al., 1978: 74). For example, a sports official has power over those participating, but the participants also have power over the official, for without participants the official cannot be employed. Also, more subtly, officials and competitors influence one another at various points in the game. A player may 'simulate' a foul to 'hoax' the official in to an incorrect decision. Conversely, an official may demonstrate his or her power by awarding free-kicks or giving yellow or red cards. Although this example refers to a bi-polar, or two-way relationship, Elias was explicit in suggesting that power balances in the wider society are always multi-polar in that they involve complex figurations of interdependent individuals (Dunning, 1999). According to Dunning, what Elias is suggesting is twofold: first that power is polymorphous and inherent in all human relationships; and second that the key to understanding power lies in the interdependency of people (1999).

Elias was critical of what he saw as a tendency towards reification in sociology, presenting social structures as objects external to and over and above the individual: this not only served to 'dehumanize social structures' (1978: 16) but also gave the false impression that individuals are separated from society by 'some invisible barrier' (1978: 15). For Elias, the things we call social structures are not external objects exerting pressure on individuals to act in particular ways. However, nor is society the intentional outcome of individual agency; rather it is the result of social relations and human interdependencies formed over generations.

Elias focused, in detail, on the dynamics of relationships between people and groups of people believing that 'life' should be examined as a process. Thus, the figural approach looks not only to investigate people's behaviour at the micro-level but, also, the structural development of society at the macro-level as a long term 'process' and therefore, importantly, looks to bridge the micro-macro gap. In this regard, Mennell states that figural sociology is 'inseparably a microsociological and a macrosociological theory' (1998: 94) which attempts to overcome dichotomous models of structure/agency and objectivism/subjectivism. In making such an attempt, Elias is similar to Bourdieu. However, the balance which Elias strikes more effectively provides for both transformation as well as reproduction, at least in the view of Mouzelis (1995; 2008). In so doing, it avoids both the reifying tendencies of overly deterministic accounts of social life and the excessively individual accounts that fail to address the continued significance of material circumstances in shaping an individual's life experiences and expectations.

Application

I use this figural dimension of social practice to answer, for my chosen fieldwork site, my fourth subsidiary question: what constellations of positions and dispositions form and evolve? In large part this is concerned with how the answers to the previous two subsidiary questions transform over time, and therefore closely builds upon the application of the positional and dispositional dimensions. Elias' notion that power and resistance exist in a particular socio-spatio-

temporal setting as a result of the – current and historic – figuration of positions and dispositions is of especial help in answering this question. In view of its conceptual significance in my application I concentrate on identifying and analysing specific figural games over time, as they relate to resistance. In keeping with the figural approach, which emphasises the agency of lower-level actors, I focus first on how meso-level actors resist macro-level actors and then turn my attention to how micro-level actors resist meso-level actors.

Elias' other concepts of established and outsider relations, unintended consequences and individual *habitus* also feature in chapter 7. Elias' concept of established and outsider relations further informs my figural analysis as it is through such relations that power – or the lack of it – is constituted and manifested. Elias' concept of unintended consequences provides for more conscious action than does Bourdieu, although such action is not necessarily effective at achieving its intended outcome(s). In terms of meso-level resistance towards ICTs, one can imagine a situation where a meso-level actor resists ICTs only for this resistance to itself be resisted; this latter resistance, an unintended consequence, potentially being more disruptive than the ICT itself. For Elias, an individual has their own *habitus* as well as being situated in a shared one. This distinction, reflecting a slightly different conceptualisation of *habitus* to that of Bourdieu, proves significant for my fieldwork site.

3.6 Conclusions

In this chapter I adopted and adapted strands of theory to help me unpick the intricate tapestry of resistance to ICTs at the meso-level of an organisation. These strands of theory provide for where the extant literature on resistance to ICTs was found lacking: power in relation to resistance; the breadth and diversity of resistance; the complex and hybrid nature of the missionary organisation; Bourdieu's concepts in relation to ICT resistance; and an appropriate framework that suits meso-level resistance to ICTs in organisations whilst providing for multi-level and longitudinal aspects of resistance. In order to facilitate this, I began by considering how resistance to ICTs can be

conceptualised. I posited the potential contribution of Mouzelis' (1995; 2008) three dimensions of social practice, each drawn from a different tradition of social thought, to my conceptual framework in helping me to connect the micro-, meso- and macro-levels with power and resistance. Figure 3.5 maps these three dimensions against my subsidiary questions, the theorists used and their key concepts.

Question	Dimension of Social Practice	Concepts and Theorists
How can resistance to ICTs be conceptualised? (SQ1)	All three dimensions in combination	The three dimensions of social practice (Mouzelis, 2005) connect micro-level, agency-centred, analysis and macro-level, structure-centred, analysis via meso-level analysis
How do the structures and functions of an organisation impact on, or relate to, resistance to ICTs? (SQ2)	Positional (applied in chapter 6)	The four functions (AGIL) (Parsons, 1953), across levels, and three spheres (Mouzelis, 1995) at micro-level, facilitate/constrain resistance through creating normative role expectations
How do the field and <i>doxa</i> of the organisation and the <i>habitus</i> and capitals of the individuals within it impact on, or relate to, resistance to ICTs? (SQ3)	Dispositional (applied in chapter 7)	Mental patterns of perception, appreciation and action (Bourdieu, 1990) facilitate/constrain resistance
What constellations of positions and dispositions form and evolve? (SQ4)	Figurational (applied in chapter 8)	The specific contexts of social activity in which the normative expectations and the <i>habitus</i> are activated facilitate/constrain resistance (Elias et al., 2000)

Figure 3.5 Concepts and theorists in relation to Mouzelis' (1995) dimensions of social practice and SQ2-4

Next I considered what theoretical resources can help to answer my second subsidiary question (SQ2): how do the structures and functions of an organisation impact on, or relate to, resistance to ICTs? I explored and evaluated the relevance to this question of functional analysis and its provision for continuity and conflict in the work of Mouzelis (1995; 2008) and of Parsons (1951; 1951; 1953; 1956; 1957; 1960b; 1961). I found that this positional dimension concerned with the normative expectations of someone performing a particular role, could clearly be of significance when considering resistance to ICTs within an organisation.

I went on to explore what concepts can help to answer my third subsidiary question (SQ3): how do the field and *doxa* of the organisation and the *habitus* and capitals of the individuals within it impact on, or relate to, resistance to ICTs? I explored and evaluated the relevance to this question, and my fieldwork site, of the specific elements of field, capital, *habitus*, *doxa* and symbolic violence in the work of Mouzelis (1995; 2008) and of Bourdieu (1962; 1977; 1977; 1983; 1985; 1986; 1988; 1989; 1990; 1991; 1992; 1992; 1998; 2010). I found that this dispositional dimension concerned with the mental patterns of perception, appreciation and action that an individual brings to bear upon a particular situation could be fundamental when considering resistance to ICTs at the meso-level of an organisation.

Finally, I considered what concepts can help to answer my fourth subsidiary question (SQ4): what constellations of positions and dispositions form and evolve? I explored and evaluated the relevance to this question, and my fieldwork site, of the specific concepts of figurations, established and outsider relations, unintended consequences, individual *habitus* and power relations in the work of Mouzelis (1995; 2008) and of Elias (1978; 1978; 2000; 2007b; 2007a; 2008; 2008a; 2010). I found that this figurational dimension concerned with the specific context of a social activity in which the normative expectations and the *habitus* are activated, could be significant when considering resistance to ICTs at the meso-level of an organisation.

This chapter has explained and explored Mouzelis' three dimensions of social practice – via reference to the original texts of those he synthesises and others – and their relevance for studying resistance in and via organisations. It is important to point out here, as a foretaste of a more detailed criticism to be found in chapter 8, a limitation I discovered rather late in the research process: Mouzelis' slight simplification of these theorists to fit only one dimension. For instance, Mouzelis takes the position of Parsons to be his model of four functional exigencies (1953) which 'looks down at the individual actors from the perspective of the social system' (Dubin, 1960). As such he can declare that Parsons leaves little scope for human agency (Mouzelis, 2008). However, Parsons also proposed a pattern variable model (1951) which 'looks out at the social system from the vantage point of the actor' (Dubin, 1960), and which he later sought to integrate with his four functions (Parsons, 1957).

Having identified an issue to explore, resistance towards ICTs at the meso-level of an organisation, and a lens with which to do so, I had then to conceive of an appropriate method by which to use it. This forms the focus of the following chapter.

Chapter 4

Research Practice

'Fieldworkers, it seems, learn to move among strangers while holding themselves in readiness for episodes of embarrassment, affection, misfortune, partial or vague revelation, deceit, confusion, isolation, warmth, adventure, fear, concealment, pleasure, surprise, insult and always possible deportation. Accident and happenstance shapes fieldworkers' studies as much as planning and foresight; numbing routine as much as rational choice; mistaken judgements as much as accurate ones.'

(Van Maanen, 2011: 2)

4.1 Introduction

In the previous chapter I established my conceptual framework for studying resistance towards ICTs at the meso-level of an organisation. How and where I used this lens is the focus of this chapter, in which I explain my research practice.

My choice of fieldwork site was certainly a case of Van Maanen's happenstances (2011) as much as planning and foresight. 2006 was the year that I caught my first glimpse of the monasteries along the western side of the Holy Mountain, on a tourist boat 500m from the shore. It was also when, after presenting an earlier cut of my conceptual framework (Russell et al., 2006), I discussed the potential of Mount Athos as a fieldwork site with Professor Chrisanthi Avgerou at the London School of Economics. However, at that point I dismissed the possibility. It seemed to me that the monasteries were resisting ICTs by default, as opposed to by choice, because they had no realistic prospect of engaging with them without data-capable cables or wireless data signals. From what I had read, it would also be extremely difficult to obtain access as an Anglican rather than Orthodox

Christian. However, by late 2008 both of these situations had changed: I had become an Orthodox Christian and OTE had launched their WiMAX network trial on Mount Athos (Hellenic Telecommunications Organisation, 2008). Further, it was the fortuitous happenstance of me meeting an English monk at Thessaloniki airport in 2009 – on his return from the Holy Mountain and my return from Aristotle University – that led to my choice of one monastery to focus on from the twenty that comprise Mount Athos.

There follows the more detailed, linear, rationalisation of my choice of site in section 4.2, where I justify it by reference to my research questions. In section 4.3 I establish my research approach, commensurate with my conceptual framework established in chapter 3, which enables a focus upon the interconnections between agency and structure. Ethnography is chosen as the most appropriate means of generating the necessary qualitative data in the context of this research. My use of interviews, group discussions and participant observation – all permitted by the choice of ethnography as a research strategy – for data collection is described in section 4.4. There I also discuss the key challenges I faced practising ethnography at my fieldwork site, together with the counter-measures I adopted. In section 4.5 I explain how I inscribed my ethnography, from note making through to constructing this thesis. Again, particular challenges, such as the low-tech form that data capture necessarily took are discussed. In section 4.6 I describe the ethical issues I had to consider, before drawing conclusions in section 4.7. Finally, looking forward to the following empirical chapters, I present the *dramatis personae* in section 4.8. This introduces the cast of characters and serves as a reference.

4.2 Choosing a monastery

In this section I describe how I narrowed down my choice of fieldwork site. I begin by justifying the general type of organisation, monasteries, then the broad setting of my study, Mount Athos. Finally, I explain how I chose one specific monastery from the twenty that constitute the Holy Mountain.

Monasteries

Monasteries fit well with my conceptual framework, which I developed in chapter 3, having both identifiable and interesting positional, dispositional and figural dimensions of social practice. Further, monasteries also relate to issues regarding resistance to ICTs which I identified in chapters 1 and 2, as I go on to demonstrate.

In terms of fit with the positional dimension, outlined in section 3.3, the provision for religion in the latent pattern maintenance function, and the acknowledgement of its relation to other functions, is potentially very useful for studying a monastery in relation to contemporary artefacts from another place, the adaptation function. In a monastery there may be relatively little differentiation with the economic and educational functions embedded in religion, similar to Sprott's view, in his time, of law in Arab countries (Sprott, 1963). Alternatively, the functions may be differentiated, yet unbalanced. Either way, one would expect the logic of the church to prevail, just as Mouzelis (1997) believes the logic of cognitive rationality should prevail in the academic community over that of the market place, political party or social movement. Although a religious organisation may well seek to resist technological developments, if the forces for change are stronger than those of resistance, and if discussion is permitted, the current order may be challenged as per the pattern in Sprott (1963) regarding working practices.

Further, monasteries, as religious organisations, have clearly defined roles and positions. As Mouzelis states:

in a highly ritualistic game – a traditional Greek Orthodox Mass, say – it is the role/positional dimension that is dominant, in the sense that one can understand the whole game from the beginning to the end by a thorough knowledge of the roles of the priest, the churchgoer, the thurifer and so on. (Mouzelis, 1995: 108)

Whilst roles and positions are clearly defined in religious organisations, this does not mean that the dispositional dimension of social practice, outlined in section 3.4, is insignificant. As a religious

organisation, a monastery is based on a particular way of knowing and being: a monastic epistemology and ontology. Together these can be called the *doxa* of the community. Monks have their own value systems. Amongst another professional group, social workers, the importance of an external value system, independent of management, has been identified as inclining them towards resisting authority (Joyce et al., 1988). Monks' value system may feature similarly, although in this case inclining them towards resisting ICTs rather than authority. This *doxa*, as well as contrasting with that of the global internet-enabled village, also grants the organisation a certain boundariedness. This is enhanced by the monks living and working in community, with limited possibility for external contact.

Having said this, in terms of social capital, monks, having been brought up outside their monastery, may well have differing social networks beyond it, as well as different networks of relationships within it. Religious capital clearly may be most relevant in a monastery. One might expect the acquisition of religious capital, as opposed to economic capital, to be dominant amongst the monks. Most monks are expected to forego their economic capital when they join a monastery, possibly taking a vow of poverty, and very likely from thence forth will hold possessions only in common with the other monks. Indeed, monks who likely have significant religious capital but relatively little economic capital may well even seek to discredit non-religious capitals, as Bourdieu suggests takes place amongst those with cultural capital who seek to undermine economic capital. Depending upon the extent to which the monastery is a doxic society, there will be little scope for symbolic struggle. With relevance to the fieldwork site of this study, Mouzelis develops the concept of 'spiritual capital'. In contrast to Bourdieu's concept of religious capital which can, for example, be hoarded by the Vatican, spiritual capital disappears as one tries to instrumentally acquire it. In a monastery there is likely to be a high degree of congruence between the positional and dispositional dimensions of social practice, and it is significant that the example Mouzelis (1995) gives of such high congruence is the Greek Orthodox liturgy. A monastery may therefore be capable of defending itself from the diffusion of ICTs into its territory, as the monks' positions and

dispositions play out in figurations, as outlined in section 3.5. It will also make any micro-level resistance towards the meso-level resistance towards ICTs all the more rare and precious.

A monastery of monks resisting information communication technologies is particularly interesting as a fieldwork site for further reasons which connect with concepts outlined in chapters 1 and 2. In relation to section 1.1, monks form part of the 'ideological classes', focused upon mental rather than physical work (Marx and Kautsky, 1951; Marx and Engels, 1974; Marx and Engels, [1867] 1974). This opportunity to devote time to thought, their vocation and their concern with the spiritual as opposed to the material might incline them to be somewhat sceptical of the 'sensuousness' (Marx and Engels, [1867] 1974: 163) of deceptively straightforward information and communication commodities, viewing them as a material temptation or distraction. Although, like other commodities, an ICT may appear 'at first sight an extremely obvious, trivial thing', further 'analysis brings out that it is...abounding in metaphysical subtleties and theological niceties' (Marx and Engels, [1867] 1974: 163).

Further, monasteries are places of, and spaces for, retreat, prayer and worship. Whilst monks may require information resources, whether journal articles or commentaries, which might lead them towards acceptance of ICTs, retreat, prayer and worship each encompass elements of silence: and the places of retreat, prayer and worship are not traditionally places of social noise. It is considered that this element of their profession may endear them towards resistance as identified by Melucci (1996). Indeed, noise, the cost to the social environment of the choice to consume, may even, in part, encourage them to profess monastic vows. For the emphasis on access anywhere and anytime means that those who wish to retreat from the world in silent meditation have their choices constrained and shaped by those using ICTs. Thus, there is a 'new need to withdraw from social noise created by the overwhelming information flow' (Melucci, 1996: 182). As Melucci stated: '...in a culture where communication becomes the means and content of domination, silence and retreat are forms of a resistance' (1996: 183). As such monasteries could be considered the

prototype of Melucci's collective resisters who are 'the opposite of all the progressives' rhetoric..."Participate to have a voice!" (1996: 183). What is unclear is whether even monks are so constrained that they may not be able to think through the commodity form, being 'driven, theoretically, to the same problem and solutions to which material interest and social position drive' them 'practically' (Marx, 1963: 250). Finally, in relation to section 2.4, monks may fit well with Rogers' description of laggards: conservative individuals, with few external contacts and a suspicion of innovations (Rogers, 1983).

Mount Athos

I chose to hunt around for monastic resistance to ICTs in the Monks' Republic of Mount Athos in northern Greece. The first and last encounter by most who have seen Mount Athos (and by all women) has been a guided boat trip, not straying closer than 500m to the coast. Any closer and one requires a *diamonitirion* (see Appendix A), a visa-like document, for this marks the boundary of the waters of this self-governing peninsula of 135 square miles (Steinvorth, 2012) in northern Greece, the so-called Monks' Republic. In the summer season, many such boats voyage close to the boundary for the Holy Mountain represents the most significant cultural phenomenon proximate to the bustling beaches of the Kassandra peninsula where tour operators package many holiday-makers. My first, but not in this case last, encounter was on such a trip, in 2006, with Russian-speaking friends, organised by a Russian tour operator. My limited Russian meant I understood little of the commentary but the visual experience was unforgettable. The mountain itself, the imperceptible peak of which pokes into cloud cover, is dramatic and daring. The rugged, rural, surrounding slopes impress with their tranquillity. The monasteries themselves, the sole sign from the sea of human action, seem to perch precariously on such slopes. Indeed, one, Simonos Petras, looks like it may well collapse down the cliff face. Their architecture seems to fall somewhere between that of a Norman castle and an Oxbridge college. Like the former, they are grand in scale with ferocious façades and were subject to regular assault. Ottomans attacked from the East, Crusaders – and other Latinists – from the West, pirates from wherever. Most of the

monasteries number among their Brotherhood eternal Saints who have been martyred at the hands of one or other of these groups. Like Oxbridge colleges, they contain picturesque quadrangles from which emerge dreaming spires and were not primarily purposed for defence – or offence – but rather for scholarship – and relative solitude – in the service of the Church. Unlike both Norman castles and Oxbridge colleges, their architecture suits their contemporary use. For the monasteries continue in the service of the Church and they continue to be subject to assault: although more commonly verbal, one monastery (and six of its Brotherhood) was subject to physical assault as recently as 2007 (Whipple, 2009).

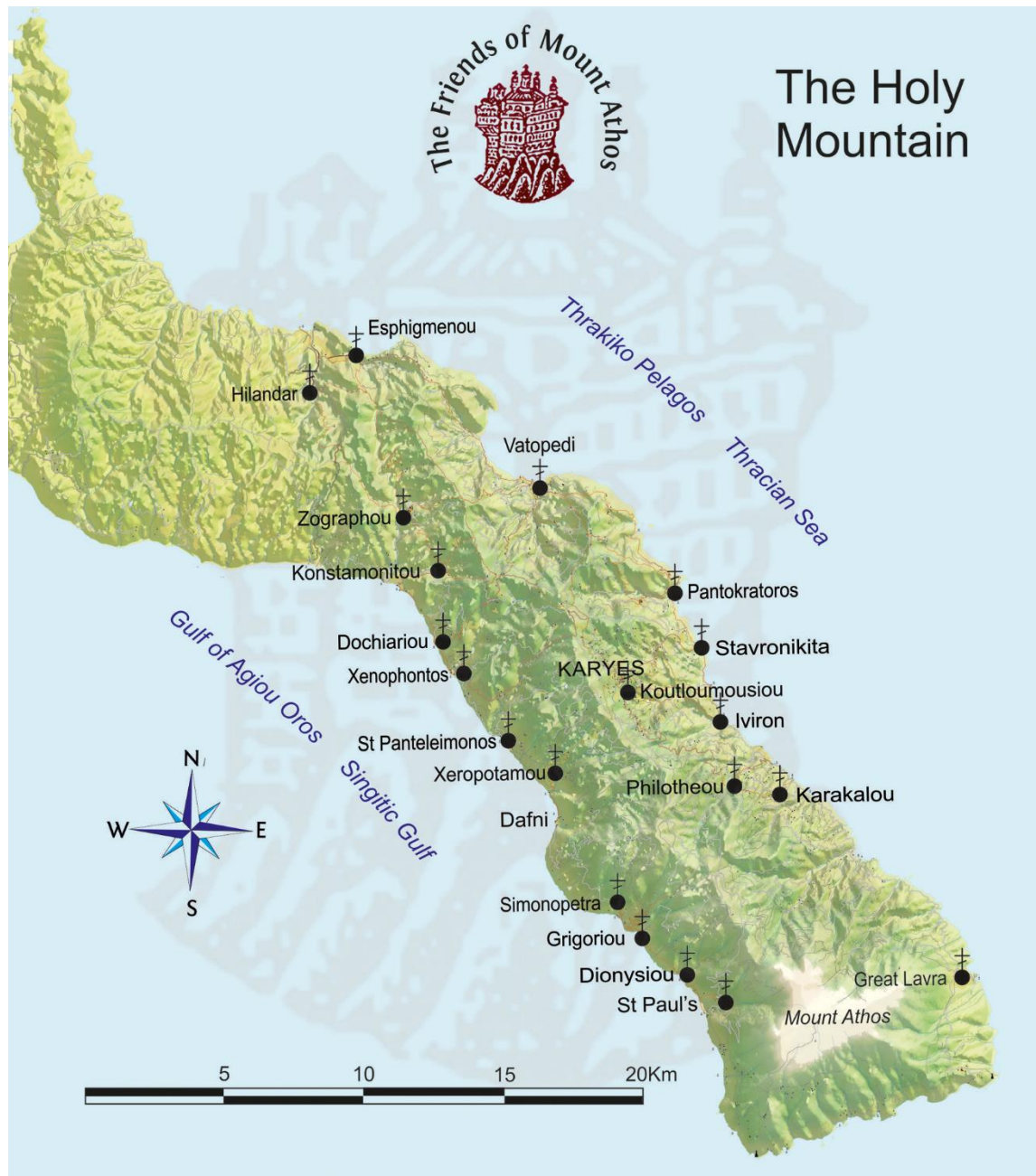


Figure 4.1 A map of Mount Athos (Friends of Mount Athos, 2016)

Into such an atypical setting ICTs are being ‘translated’ (Serres and Latour, 1995). The Hellenic Telecommunications Organisation (OTE) chose the mountain as a trial site for their WiMAX network technology. The rolling out of this technology was potentially enabling Mount Athos to be ‘informed’ (Zuboff, 1988), incorporated into information society, for the first time. This was because, previously, the long distances to a fixed-line telephone exchange and to a data-enabled mobile phone mast meant for sporadic, at best, internet connectivity. I chose such a macro-level

initiative as it enabled study of a resisting organisation as opposed to resisting individuals or small groups of individuals.

This setting is an 'extreme instance' (Oates, 2006: 144), contrasting with the norm, as up to the time this study commenced there had been clear boundaries drawn concerning the use of ICTs. For instance, there are no publicly available email addresses for anyone resident in the monks' republic (Friends of Mount Athos, 2014c). This has been partly through choice and partly through the relatively limited access this remote peninsula had to the required infrastructure. Having not previously had the opportunity to access the internet through a fixed or mobile connection, makes the site even more interesting. In studies of the adoption of mobile telephony, the relative absence of landline telephony, for instance in Africa, may incentivise adoption (Ling, 2004) but only to the extent that a need has been established. Monks have seen ICTs and their impacts. For example, on the journey (back) to the Holy Mountain, the dot matrix printer chugs along, generating the ticket for the bus to Ouranoupolis. Next the bus driver collects the printed manifest for the deliveries scheduled en-route. The monks – eleven of the thirty-eight passengers in total on my second fieldwork episode – cannot but be aware of the significance of information technologies for transactions, transport and logistics. But what might they consider the significance or need of such technologies in their own monastic communities?

This issue of engagement with, and resistance to, ICT is of great contemporary significance on Mount Athos. As Speake asks: 'How will they [the monks] respond to...the invasive tendencies of new technology? Will they decline into their shell and revert to being a collection of reactionary divines in the decline of life?' (Speake, 2002: 266). Also, in a book published in English a year before my first visit to Mount Athos, a Greek Orthodox Bishop, Metropolitan Nikolaos of Mesogaia, describes the former cell of an unknown ascetic monk on the Mountain, as an example of what he describes elsewhere as 'the indiscriminate use of technology' (Hatzinikolaou and Makropoulos, 2007: 14):

The cell itself had a desk that was so well equipped that it seemed more like an office for a learned university professor who had gone to write his doctorate. Naturally, electricity had been installed and there were sockets and electric lights... a new contemporary 'ascetic' could perhaps take up residence there and have his laptop, his mobile...and whatever else could possibly make his life easier. (Hatzinikolaou and Makropoulos, 2007: 145)

Since I began my fieldwork the currency of my site for exploring resistance to, and adoption of, ICTs has been confirmed by two events, one academic and one ecclesiastical. In between my fieldwork episodes, in 2013, the Patriarch of Moscow, the head of the Russian Orthodox Church, on a visit to one of the Athonite monasteries, urged monks not to use their mobiles to access the Internet so as to avoid temptation (Davies, 2013). This shows both that monastic engagement with ICTs is an issue, and one that is being questioned by church leaders beyond the Mountain. In 2009 a paper (Tanasyuk and Avgerou, 2009) on ICT use on Mount Athos was presented at a conference. Although the focus of the paper is engagement with ICTs, rather than resistance, it confirms the academic significance of studying ICTs in this context.

The nature of Mount Athos also intensifies the fit between monasteries as an organisation of study and the conceptual framework I developed in chapter 3. In terms of the positional dimension, the monasteries, the constituent organisations of the Monks' Republic, have persisted in a relatively consistent, ordered form, for over a millennium. The Monks' Republic has long-enjoyed self-governance, even under the Ottoman Empire of which Mount Athos was part from the early 15th century until the First Balkan War in 1912 (Speake, 2002). This is now guaranteed by the Treaty of Lausanne of 1923. Such persistence clearly aligns well with Parsons' inferred intention to explain why society does not fall apart (Sklair, 2003). However, the relative autonomy of their latent pattern maintenance function is being challenged from without. In terms of the goal-attainment (i.e. political) function, for example, the European Parliament has adopted a text requesting the

lifting of the ban on women entering the territory of the Monks' Republic (2003). In terms of the integration (i.e. legal) function, for example, the Abbot of Vatopedi monastery on Mount Athos was imprisoned on the 'mainland' for four months, 'accused of inciting officials to commit acts of fraud, perjury and money-laundering' (Papachlimintzos, 2012). In terms of the adaptation (i.e. economic) function, for example, their exemption from property taxes has been repealed in the midst of Greece's crisis (Kathimerini, 2012).

The continuous monastic occupation of Mount Athos for over a millennium, despite occupation by Ottomans and Germans, attack by Latinists and entanglement in the Greek civil war, could also be understood as a consequence of the practices and form of monasticism being aesthetically and ascetically contiguous with that which has been practised there in the past. Due to the habitual and largely unconscious nature of the *habitus*, it is relatively resistant to change and may therefore be more reflective of the *habitus* of the past than it is of the *habitus* of the present. However, the fact of death means that there is also change as well continuity, even if the balance is weighted toward the latter. As the Monks' Republic does not permit women to enter, the mountain may be a place of physical death but cannot be a place of physical birth. Its continued existence therefore depends upon men of each generation choosing to leave the 'real world' to live the monastic life, and to live it on Mount Athos. With respect to monastic resistance to – or engagement with – information and communication technologies, some of the new monks may be keen to bring artefacts from this 'real world' to the mountain, artefacts whose codification of rules from another place may be at odds with the ways of monastic life. The Holy Mountain, as has traditionally been conceived, is therefore under threat from within as well as from without.

On Mount Athos, another aspect of the dispositional dimension, economic capital, may be an issue: OTE are funding the roll-out of the WiMAX network, but there are other costs to consider (Kling, 1999). Whilst at least one monastery, Vatopedi, has great wealth (Kathimerini, 2013), another,

Esphigmenou, survives on €40 per day (Whipple, 2009). As in Atlanta (Kvasny, 2006; Kvasny and Keil, 2006), so acquisition of ICTs in this context will not guarantee their use.

Also of significance is the collegial nature of monasteries on Mount Athos, in the tradition of Saint Basil (Adeney, 1908). In a Basilian monastery autonomy comes through the relative independence of the monastic community and participation comes through the *Synodikon*, or assembly, of all monks of the community where collective decisions are made. In contrast to Roman Catholicism the monasteries do not form part of an order, such as the Benedictines, or a society, such as the Jesuits. The collegial institutions of Mount Athos may be in a strong position to take their own meso-level course, in defiance of macro-level initiatives, although the participative nature of decision-making may give voice to micro-level resistance to such a meso-level course. Thus, in the figurational dimension, various constellations of positions and dispositions may play out.

Mount Athos has around 2200 monks (Friends of Mount Athos, 2014b) distributed amongst the twenty governing monasteries (Friends of Mount Athos, 2014b) and smaller communities, *kelli* (cells) and sketes, which lie on their territory. These are described in more detail in the next chapter. Due to time constraints, and the need, in answering the research questions, to focus upon depth of data rather than breadth, it was not possible to undertake ethnography in all twenty monasteries. Rather one specific site was identified for the ethnography to take place.

My chosen monastery

Having chosen to hunt around for resistance to ICTs in the Monks' Republic of Mount Athos in northern Greece, I needed to select a specific monastery to focus on from the twenty that constitute this self-governing territory. The one I chose was representative of the 'mainstream' of Mount Athos, being both Greek-speaking and accepting the oversight of the Œcumenical Patriarch of Constantinople (Speake, 2002), but had chosen to resist the ICTs offered, and enabled, by OTE. All the other nineteen monasteries were also visited, if only for a couple of hours.

The twenty monasteries of Mount Athos are relatively less distinguishable for the main part. Ethnic, or more accurately, linguistic distinctions can be made: currently 17 monasteries are Greek-, one Bulgarian-, one Russian- and one Serbian-speaking. Within the Greek-speaking monasteries there is some diversity: there may be found British, American, Australian and Hungarian nationals amongst others; two have large Romanian-speaking smaller communities, sketes; one is primarily Cypriot. They may also be slightly differentiated according to the emphasis they place upon different elements of vocation: whilst all grow food, ferment wine, pick olives, chant services, catalogue archives, offer hospitality and direction, some are thought to be more academic in orientation and others more practical in orientation. In addition, although all monasteries currently follow the 'old' (Julian) calendar they differ in their attitude towards those who follow the 'new' (revised Julian/neo-Julian or in some cases, in Finland and Slovakia, the Gregorian) calendar.

A more mainstream monastery was chosen which would enable a more representative picture to be portrayed. In other words, a typical 'case' within the atypical setting of Mount Athos. I had the impression that my chosen monastery enjoys its place off the beaten track. Certainly it is not well-known, even amongst Orthodox Christians, and being set back from the sea – about a one hour walk – it receives fewer casual visitors. Certainly it does not court nor deserve controversy. It does not pride itself on zealousness – unlike Esphigmenou – or prioritise financial gain – unlike Vatopedi. Vatopedi and Esphigmenou represent opposite ends of the spectrum on the issue of the calendar: Vatopedi changed to the new for a while; Esphigmenou continues to refuse to commemorate the name of the Œcumenical Patriarch – who has spiritual oversight of the Holy Mountain – because of the change. This theological difference extends into the political: whilst Vatopedi courts politicians and nobles, including non-Orthodox such as the Prince of Wales Esphigmenou falls foul of the wrath of politicians such as the former Minister for Foreign Affairs (Athos is classed as 'foreign'), Dora Bakoyannis (Kreiser, 2006) for its refusal to commemorate. Between these two extremes, excluding the three Slavic monasteries, lie a further fifteen Greek-speaking monasteries. One might call these 'mainstream Mount Athos', although when it comes to media presence it

might be more accurate to describe them as ‘marginal Mount Athos’ for Vatopedi and Esphigmenou are by far the most cited, whether in Greek or foreign media (e.g. Whipple, 2009; Kathimerini, 2013). Choosing a monastery in the theological mainstream of Athos was important so that the social, political, technological and economic – the focus of the research – might be discerned a little more clearly. It might also make for more valid comparisons to other monasteries and help preserve its anonymity.

Within the group of ‘mainstream’ monasteries, the specific site was chosen in view of the likelihood that the informants might engage with the research. I first visited the monastery in the hope that it might be a site of resistance to ICTs. I had read that it was rather minimalist when it came to facilities, refusing the possibility of EU grants for refurbishment (citation available but not provided as would comprise the monastery’s anonymity). I had also heard – from my encounter with an English monk mentioned in section 4.1 – that it did not have electricity.

Being met at the port on my first visit by a rather contemporary truck – there for parcels as much as for pilgrims – I began to wonder if the monastery would in fact be that interesting in terms of resistance to ICTs. This impression grew further as I encountered the cables strewn up the slope to the monastery itself. However, upon arrival at the monastery this impression was quickly dispelled. Only one cable led to the monastery itself: the black one, for water; the white one, for telephone, led to an OTE phone box situated outside the gate to the monastery. This position seemed to reflect a conscious choice, a demarcation.

Looking up from the cables, the Byzantine-built monastery was a striking sight. I mentioned in the previous subsection my first impression, from afar on a boat, of Mount Athos’ monastic architecture falling somewhere between that of a Norman castle and an Oxbridge college. On closer inspection this initially seemed to hold true. The castellated walls were certainly as high as any Norman castle or cathedral. And yet, the walls were not monolithic, and even from the outside domestic elements enticed and intrigued. Colourful Ottoman balconies were suspended from the

walls, with washing hanging to dry. Looking even further up haphazard little tin chimneys emitted wispy white smoke from the roof and there was the top of a dome protruding, crowned by a cross. This hinted at a third, ecclesiastical, purpose to add to those of defence and domicile.

The gate itself was an ancient, sturdy wood and iron door. However, immediately inside there was no portcullis but rather an icon, signifying the import of spiritual and not just physical protection. It was from here, looking inside, that the Oxbridge analogy rang true, at least for a little. On each side of the quadrangle there were four storeys of rooms. There was a sign directing the visitor to one of the several staircases dispersed around the quad. Habited monks, variously rushing and pottering across the stone flagging, going purposefully about their tasks, were not such a different sight to gowned academics and students in an Oxbridge quad. However, the stones did not frame a manicured croquet lawn but rather an imposing Church.

Once the wonder subsided, I followed the sign (in Greek) for the guest quarters. Here, between the portraits of Greek freedom-fighters from the nineteenth century were more signs, variously instructing and admonishing the pilgrims in Greek, French, English, German and Russian. There I enjoyed the customary Athonite hospitality: a shot glass of *raki* (an ouzo-like spirit, often made by a monastery, although in this case not), a large glass of water and a piece of sugary, sticky *loukoumi* (what I would call, in a less nationalistic setting, Turkish delight). After such sustenance I introduced myself to the guest master. What happened next is detailed in the negotiation sub-section of section 4.4.

4.3 Choosing ethnography

In this section I justify my choice of research approach and strategy to realise my conceptual framework.

Position

My conceptual framework encompasses three different dimensions of social practice, the social, the positional and the figurational. In terms of a research approach this aligns with what Mouzelis (2008) calls social causation. Social causation takes a middle position between social constructionism and critical realism. Research in the social constructionist approach tends to focus on individual, subjective experiences or interpretations, equating them with reality. This can mean that, in adopting this approach, one fails to dig deeper into the generative mechanisms behind such experiences or interpretations. This means neglecting the full sense of the dispositional dimension of social practice. It can also mean that the research underplays the impact of structure through denying its externality (Mouzelis cites as examples of this position Harré, 1993; Harré, 2002). This means limiting the positional dimension. On the other hand, social causation cannot simply be conflated with critical realism. Research in the critical realist approach can underplay the dispositional dimension, internal constraints and enablements, because structural constraints and enablements are considered external to the actor (Mouzelis cites as examples of this position Archer, 1982; Archer, 2003).

The social causation approach recognises that technological artefacts' constitution is social as well as physical (Lawson, 2008). It avoids the 'flat treatment of the agency/structure dimension' (Carlsson, 2004: 323) prevalent in most interpretivist research concerning technology, which focuses 'almost exclusively on micro phenomena' (Carlsson, 2004: 323), rejecting 'objectivist elements' (Carlsson, 2004: 323). It is considered that 'this provides greater explanatory power vis-à-vis current research practices and resolves the theory-practice contradictions' (Smith, 2006: 199) found in information systems research 'conducted within the standard account of the paradigms of positivism and interpretivism' (Smith, 2006: 191). It dispenses with the debate between technological determinism on the one hand (and within this the debate between utopian and dystopian views of technology) and social constructionism on the other.

My research approach needed to enable a focus upon the interconnections between agency and structure. The three dimensions of social practice cut across the micro-, meso- and macro-levels, although the positional dimension will tend to give more weight to the macro-, the dispositional to the meso- and the figural to the micro-level. However, without data, the conceptual framework is rendered useless: the next subsection details my choice of research strategy.

Selection

My research strategy needed to generate the type of data I required to apply my conceptual framework, which was itself designed to answer my research questions. Thus I needed data about: the monks' and the Abbot's perceptions of ICTs; the monks' and Abbot's, and others on the Holy Mountain's, use of, and resistance to, ICTs; the monastery's organisational structure and monastic culture; the Greek economic, social and political environment. This constitutes quite a variety of data, for which different research techniques may be best suited. For example, monks' and the Abbot's perceptions of ICTs may be best obtained through interviews. The monks' and Abbot's, and others on the Holy Mountain's, use of, and resistance to, ICTs may be best captured through observation. The monastery's organisational structure and monastic culture may be best approached through a combination of interviews and observation whereas for the environment case study work might be most appropriate. Ethnography as a research strategy permits the use of 'case study work, interviewing, group discussions and participant observation' (Willis, 1977: vii), and thus provides for the variety of data I required.

Ethnography as a research strategy suits studying resistance. As practices of resistance, misbehaviour and dissent are 'covert and subterranean [they] are inevitably...difficult to identify and research' (Collinson and Ackroyd, 2005: 306). They are even more difficult to research when depending upon 'large data sets and increasingly available quantitative survey materials, rather than in-depth or longitudinal fieldwork' (Thompson and Ackroyd, 1995: 619). Such observations are written with micro-level resistance, misbehaviour and dissent in mind. Meso-level resistance

may be easier to identify, but possibly as difficult to understand in terms of its nature and its extent. The latter, at least, will also need consideration of micro-level activity to see how far meso-level resistance is carried out in practice. As even in an interview a monk may not be forthcoming about practices of resistance, misbehaviour and dissent an in-depth, qualitative method was employed, that of ethnography. This enables interviews to be supplemented by data collected through participant observation and gleaned from documentary evidence (Myers, 2008). Such a strategy has proved successful in classic researches of resistance, whether of working-class boys towards liberal education (Willis, 1977) or Sioux towards radios (Staudenmaier, 1985).

Ethnography also suits studying ICTs, especially when 'a rich, detailed picture of a particular situation or work practices' is required, one which will put 'events or practices into context rather than abstracting one or two aspects in isolation' and 'can therefore be used to challenge the findings from more artificial studies' (Oates, 2006: 181). It also suits the study of 'institutional contexts of [ICT] practices, bringing into one study all the stakeholders and the human, social, organisational and technical aspects' (Oates, 2006: 181). Further, Oates considers: 'It is good for studies where the topic of interest is complex and embedded in a social system that is not fully understood' and 'can be used to study something over a long period, for example, the introduction of a new information system and how people accommodate it and adapt it over time' (Oates, 2006: 182). For my research a rich, detailed picture is required; as I revealed in chapter 2, resistance to ICTs is a complex phenomenon, one which emerges from the interaction of people and technology in a particular place and changes over time.

Further evidence of the appropriateness of ethnography to the study of engagement with – and resistance – to ICTs is shown by the fact that several of the studies referred to in chapter 2 use it. For example, Turkle (1995) conducted an internet ethnography to explore how people re-construct their identities online; Orlikowski (1991) employed ethnography to research the development of IS. The most relevant ethnography, also referred to in chapter 2, is Zuboff's (1988) seminal study

of the introduction of ICTs into organisations, which considered how ICTs shaped organisational structures, workplace dynamics and perceptions of the nature of work. In 1978, when she commenced her fieldwork, she realised she had a unique opportunity to research a phenomenon which would quickly become established and routine. For me, Mount Athos and OTE presented a similar, but now very rare, opportunity.

In addition, ethnography suits studying a monastery on Mount Athos. As an organisation somewhat out of the way and overlooked, the monastery lent itself to, and indeed required, ethnography. Access is limited, for example, there are only two ferry services per day to its port: one from the 'mainland', continuing on down the coast, and then the same ferry returning back. Between these two services there would be barely enough time to walk to and from the monastery, let alone conduct meaningful research. As there is no 'private' accommodation on Mount Athos, only hospitality provided by the monasteries and their dependencies, this meant staying in a monastery would be required; as there is no other form of public transport from the monastery besides the ferry, this meant staying in, and therefore immersing myself in, the total institution of my research. Given this logistical constraint, ethnography was a necessity as well as a positive choice, just as it was for King in his study of the Royal Marines (2013).

The use of ethnography does also bring disadvantages. One general, significant, one is that ethnography as a strategy will produce 'deep' knowledge, a nuanced, fine-grained understanding of a particular site but not necessarily 'broad' knowledge that is generalizable to other organizations, industries or countries (Jaros, 2005). In part, this is a non-issue: this research seeks to better understand meso-level resistance through a conscious choice of an extreme case, a strategic choice recommended in research both on ICTs (Oates, 2006) and the adoption of innovations (Fitzgerald et al., 2002) as well as in the development of theory (Eisenhardt, 2007). In any case, the only way ultimately to establish a theory's generalizability to a new setting is to apply it in that setting, however many times it may have been applied in other settings (Lee and

Baskerville, 2003). This and other disadvantages, and the mitigating actions I took, will be discussed in the following two sections where I detail my ethnographic practice.

4.4 Doing ethnography

Having chosen ethnography as my research strategy in the previous section, this section outlines how I conducted it to investigate resistance to – and use of – ICTs amongst the monks of my chosen monastery.

Preparation

As I mentioned in section 4.2, I first encountered Mount Athos from the deck of a tour boat in 2006. This gave me a glimpse of their physical context, but afforded me little appreciation of their social setting. This I started to acquire through reading previous studies and experiences, initially only in English due to my linguistic limitations. Fortunately, there exists a long list of accounts, seemingly all with an Oxbridge origin. John Covell was the first visitor to write an account in English, in 1677 (published in 1722; and in Dallam et al., 1893); he later served as Master of Christ's College, Cambridge. Robert Curzon, educated at Christchurch, Oxford, was the next (1849). The Reverend Henry Fanshawe Tozer, fellow and tutor of Exeter College, Oxford visited the Holy Mountain in 1853 and 1861, accompanied by a travelling companion Mr Crowder, bursar of Corpus Christi College, Oxford (1869). In the inter-war period three accounts were published, by: Robert Byron, graduate of Merton College, Oxford (1928); F W Hasluck, fellow of King's College, Cambridge (1924); R M Dawkins, Bywater Professor of Modern and Byzantine Greek at Oxford (1936; 1953). These, and later books by Oxford graduates (Speake, 2002) and/or fellows (Speake and Bishop Kallistos of Diokleia, 2012), do not, however, describe or reflect upon, resistance to ICTs on the Holy Mountain. Of especial, practical, use was the then edition of the pilgrim's guide to Mount Athos (Friends of Mount Athos, 2014c).

My first, exploratory, fieldwork visit to Mount Athos, in November 2008, gave me a more real sense of the research terrain. It informed my thoughts on choosing a specific monastery in which to

conduct my ethnography, detailed in section 4.2 above. I also made two important realisations. First, I needed to learn some Modern Greek, in order to operate effectively as an ethnographer in this field. Second, the fieldwork would be best undertaken via multiple ethnographic fragments.

To learn Modern Greek I secured a scholarship to undertake a one month intensive language course at Aristotle University in Thessaloniki from August to September 2009 (the certificate may be seen in Appendix 2). Whilst this was invaluable, I felt it insufficient, and therefore followed this with an intermediate level evening class at Cardiff University through the next academic year in parallel with my next three fieldwork episodes: as my class was during Cardiff University term time and my fieldwork episodes during Cardiff Met's vacations and reading weeks these dovetailed relatively well. In practice, the class not only enabled me to explain my research and to communicate about routine matters, but also to use the second person plural form when addressing a monk to reflect my deference as a lay person.

A multi-episode longitudinal ethnography was important for both practical and academic reasons. In terms of the number and timing of fieldwork episodes, after my first exploratory visit of eleven days, I considered this an appropriate time period for each further fieldwork episode, being sufficiently long to enable immersion whilst sufficiently short that the suppression of my personality would not be too problematic (Delbridge and Kirkpatrick, 1994). To live in a 'total institution' without electricity, where what conversation there is takes place in a foreign language, where bathrooms are very limited and bedrooms are shared can take its toll; even more so when one is awoken at 1.30am for services. Further, due to work commitments, these episodes needed to take place during vacations and reading weeks. In the event, due to the timetabling of my teaching, visits of twelve and thirteen days became possible, and on two occasions these were prolonged further by a day because of a cancelled boat due to poor weather and a re-scheduled flight due to a strike. By the end of my fourth visit I felt I had reached saturation point (Mason, 2010). In discussion with my supervisors, I therefore decided to work with the data and make one

final fieldwork visit once I was finalising the thesis. Due to various changes in my life – such as moving from being a Senior Lecturer to Head of Department – this final visit came much later than I had planned, in July 2015. In total I made five trips to, and spent 56 days or eight weeks on, the mountain between November 2008 and July 2015.

The form which my ethnography took is far from unusual. Short episodes of ethnography are increasingly common, in contrast to periods past when ethnographers might visit a single site for 12-18 months, as is a ‘focus on a particular aspect or element of a society or culture’ (Madden, 2010: 17). This is because: ‘Funding constraints, and time pressures in universities...mean it is no longer always possible to spend the amount of time living in communities that was once typical’ (Madden, 2010: 17). Further, multi-episode longitudinal ethnography avoids the limitation of data collected at one point in time, which does not enable evolution in interpretations and enactments to be captured. For this reason, Matusik and Mickel (2011), having themselves collected data at only one point in time, suggest future research on mobile technologies should be longitudinal in nature.

Negotiation

To step foot on Athos, however peaceful one’s intentions, requires engagement with the Byzantine bureaucracy of the Holy Mountain. First, one must ring the Pilgrims’ Bureau of the Holy Community, situated in Thessaloniki, to reserve a place to enter the mountain on a particular day. The maximum number of pilgrims permitted per day is 110, of which 10 only may be non-Orthodox. The places become available six months prior to the date and the quota can be reached quite quickly, especially in the summer and around the major feasts. The first time I rang, and could not secure a reservation for over four months, it was suggested to me by the bureau that the significant distinction in the practice of allocating places was not Orthodox versus non-Orthodox but rather Greek versus non-Greek. This suggestion fits with the experiences of other pilgrims (Lageris, 2009) and the occasional resurgence of concerns about Slavification – as opposed to Hellenisation – of

the mountain (Speake, 2002). On subsequent occasions, when requesting to reserve a place in Greek, and using the Greek form of my baptised name, I have not encountered such difficulty. Second, one must fax a photocopy of the details page of one's passport to the office. As I was logged in their system as a regular visitor this second stage was not required for my later visits. Third, one must telephone the bureau to confirm one's place around two weeks prior to entering the Holy Mountain. Fourth, one must arrive at the Pilgrims' Office in Ouranoupolis between 8 and 9am on the day of entry to the Holy Mountain to show one's passport and, if required, a baptismal certificate and/or student identity, pay the requisite fee and collect the *diamonitirion* (visa). From there one can proceed to the office of the ferry company to purchase a ticket and then board the boat. Although Mount Athos is a peninsula rather than an island, no road exists across the border between secular Athos and the Monks' Republic, making Ouranoupolis, literally, the end of the road.

At most monasteries a prior reservation is expected, whether by fax or by phone. If permitted to stay one enters oneself into the guestbook (detailing name, father's name, mother's name, religion, place of birth and residence, where one last stayed, where one will next stay and the number of the *diamonitirion*). At this point, my accent identifies me as a foreigner, so I am asked where I am from, and in response to that question, whether or not I am Orthodox. The answer to this last question determines the extent to which one can participate in the daily (liturgical) cycle of the monastery, described in more detail in the next chapter. Finally, one is shown a bed for the night in a nearby dormitory.

All visitors are supposed to have a valid *diamonitirion* for the duration of their stay. Once obtained this limits a stay to three nights in total with a maximum of one night in each monastery. However, I found that the total duration of this can be extended further, certainly in quieter periods, at the administrative building of the Holy Community (the body to which the 20 monasteries belong) in the capital, Karyes, as I did during my first fieldwork episode. On my second fieldwork visit, when I

stayed only at my chosen monastery, I discovered that it does not usually require a *diamonitirion* to be presented (although one needs such to initially travel there). I also realised that the maximum stay could be extended in relatively quiet periods without going to Karyes, provided that one displays a genuine interest in the community, aided by offering to help in monastic labour.

A point to remember in reading this thesis is that I was to a large extent an insider. Being male gave me basic physical access to the monastery. Being, in addition, an Orthodox Christian gave me empathy with the monks and access to the central spaces of their communal life: services in the Church and meals in the refectory. The experience of non-Orthodox visitors, even if monks themselves, has been that not only might they be denied access to such spaces, they might be asked to leave after one night – as per their *diamonitirion* – and their conversations with monks might primarily revolve around points of ecclesiological difference (Pennington, 2003).

Being Orthodox gave me the freedom to participate, to roam and to converse about ICTs. However, it did bring another dynamic, at least during my first four fieldwork episodes: whether I might eventually stay myself and ‘take the habit’. On my first fieldwork visit, Father Ciaran, having heard that I had been baptised Orthodox, said: ‘In which case you must now make the second most important decision of your life: whether to get married, or to become a monk’. The fact that I had married by my final visit – as was evident by my wedding ring – may have led to a more frosty reception. However, the need for me to re-negotiate access was partly because the guest master had seemingly forgotten me. The trust and familiarity I had built up over fieldwork episodes two to four, each separated by only between four and seven weeks, had to be re-established. Fortunately, upon seeking out and speaking with Father Oswald (see section 7.4) my stay was extended from my originally permitted two nights to as long as I wished.

It is important to note I was not a complete insider for I am neither Greek nor an Orthodox Christian under the Œcumenical Patriarchate of Constantinople, the jurisdiction under whose oversight the monks of Mount Athos reside. The former meant that I could, literally, step out of conversing with

pilgrims and guest workers to focus on writing notes; the latter meant that I did not make confession or receive Holy Communion in the monastery, which would have introduced a different dynamic into my fieldwork. I believe that being sufficiently close, but not too close, to the object of my study meant that I could collect sufficiently rich data to inform analysis, but be sufficiently critical in such analysis so as to answer my research questions.

As well as variously being considered a pilgrim and potential postulant, I was of course a researcher. Being an academic specialising in ICTs enabled me to secure access of sufficient duration to get close to the monks, their enactments and their interpretations. I was fortunate in that, at least through fieldwork episodes two to four, the monks were interested in the topic of my research. This interest meant that the Abbot or other senior monks did not strive to set the boundary and scope of the investigation, as has happened in other researches of resistance (Wilson and Greenhill, 2004). It also meant that access was of sufficient breadth, depth and duration as required when there is a lack of central control over an ICT's adoption (Sørensen and Pica, 2004).

However, there are important points of ontological and epistemological difference between monks and academics to consider. In terms of epistemology, oral tradition usurped the written tradition in the contemporary and ongoing functioning of the institution. In the past, the monastery produced great scholars and bibliophiles (citation available but not provided as would comprise the monastery's anonymity), now there is little emphasis on scholarship as such. However, the oral tradition in the monastery could be seen as serving the same ends as such scholarship, for the Athonite conception of scholars does:

not mean individuals who preoccupied themselves with inquiry motivated merely by intellectual curiosity or by the desire to make "informative" or "original" contributions to the academic world. The latter conception of a scholar is alien to Orthodox monasticism. (Cavarnos, 1973: 17)

For the monks, this life is the preface to the main story. For most academics, this life seems like the main story; anything afterwards is an appendix. Beyond this, opinion of academics amongst monks is not always neutral. A former Abbot from the Holy Mountain has written:

the educated come from Babel, from confusion, and it is such people who generate confusion. Each one of them revolves around his own self. So each one refutes the others' theories, and the process never ends... St. Cosmas [a late monk from Mount Athos] is right in saying that evil will come from the educated, because the educated think that they are cultivated. (Archimandrite Vasileios of Stavronikita, 1999: 41)

Whilst that is strongly put, the monks I met would agree that truth is not 'according to the detailed studies of the specialists, or according to the profound philosophical speculations of the intellectuals' (Archimandrite Vasileios of Stavronikita, 1999: 40) and that: 'Deification [becoming ever God-like] is the end purpose of man's existence...what is the point of being modern or post-modern when death is waiting to swallow us up?' (Archimandrite Vasileios of Stavronikita, 1999: 18).

Participation

The central element of ethnography, my chosen research strategy, is participant observation, which entails the 'immersion [of the researcher] in the research setting, with the objective of sharing in peoples' lives while attempting to learn their symbolic world' (Delbridge and Kirkpatrick, 1994: 37). This enabled me to understand the professional identity of the informants, and the processes by which such identities are constructed and reconstructed: an important element of the operation of power, as identified by Clegg (1989).

As a participant I was able to gain the trust of the professional group, and gain admission to activities and places that otherwise would be 'out of bounds', such as a monk's cell. As an overt observer I was able to ask questions of the informants to clarify my understanding and, further, I

believe that this meant that they were more likely to reflect analytically (Robson, 2002), or at least consciously, on their use of – or resistance towards – ICTs.

Ethnography enabled me to capture enactments with technology as well as recording interpretations of technology. Matusik and Mickel (2011) consider this important because of the discrepancies between the two. Monks' interpretations were recorded in interviews and their enactments were captured via participant observation. Being a *participant* observer in this context meant, for me, broadly following the monastic daily cycle: eight hours of manual labour during the daytime, eight hours of church attendance in the early evening and (very) early morning and, in between, eight hours of rest to include eating and conversing with the community and sleeping in a dormitory with the other guests.

This was tough. Many of the guests had not yet adapted to this cycle, and, further, might not need to if they planned to stay only a short time and therefore not have to work, or if they intended to attend only some of the services in the Church. Whilst I am Orthodox, the only time at which I would normally attend church for this length of time would be at Easter. However, I felt both pushed and pulled to attend. Pushed, as I found it impossible to sleep through the gong of the *semantron*, a wooden plank struck with a mallet along the corridors of the monastery to summon the community to prayer. Pulled, as attending the services gave me space to think without direct interruption from others, space not afforded in the dormitory. I found myself yearning for Sundays to come as there would be a partial rest from work and some variety in the refectory with fish usually being served. Towards the end of each episode I would be counting the days until I would catch the boat back to Ouranoupolis. Ultimately it was my personal interest in the Orthodox monastic setting, the phenomenon of resistance and ICT artefacts which helped sustain my research through evenings, weekends and holidays.

Conversation

All but one of the forty monks were interviewed at least once, most in multiple interview-fragments as work permitted. The interviews were conducted in Greek, English or a mixture of both languages. The monks were not observed equally for my participant role required more interaction with some and less with others. However, this was mitigated by my relative relief from manual labour on my final two visits, having previously proved myself, literally, in the field. This enabled my participant observation to tend more towards observation and gave me the opportunity to seek out those monks from whom I felt I could learn more about my research questions. The use of these methods, across time, are shown in figure 4.2.

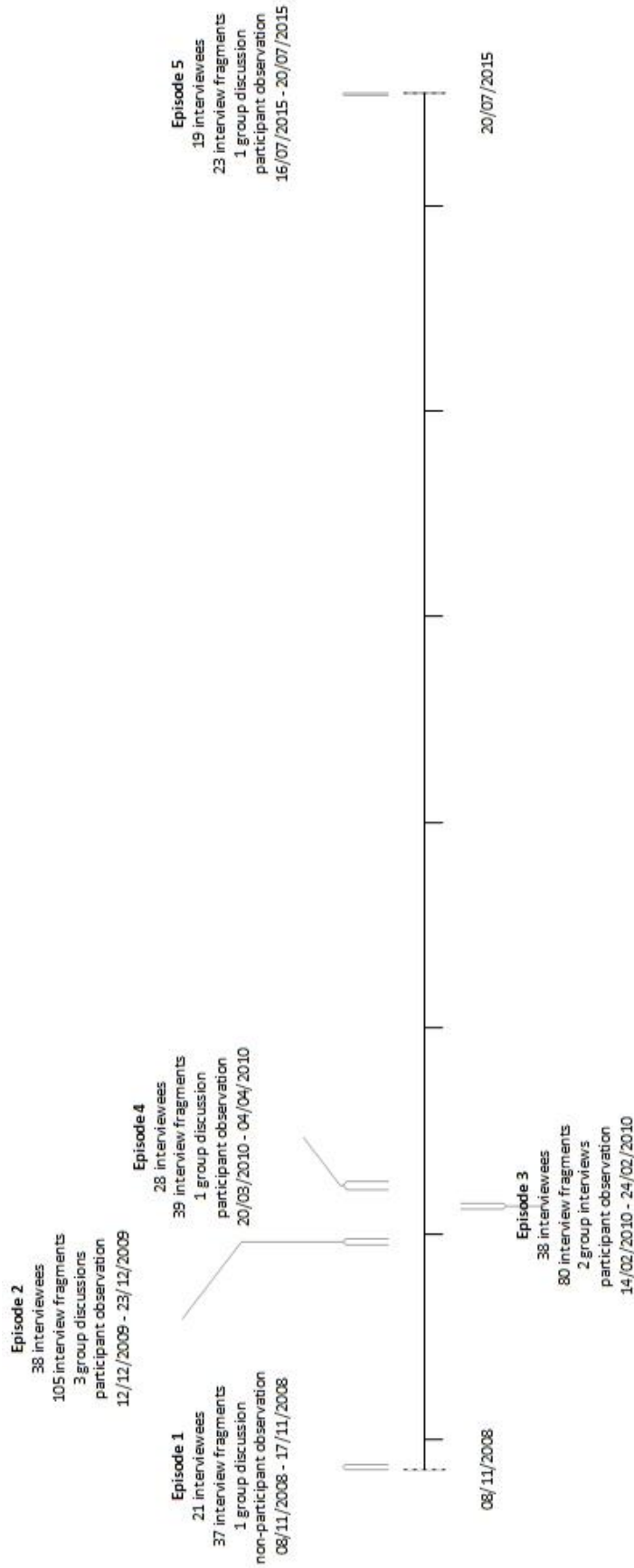


Figure 4.2 Primary data collection methods across time

As my role moved from participant to observer it was important to observe and converse with as many monks as possible as I was aware that their outlook and behaviour varied. For example, monks vary in terms of monastic maturity: 'Some have only recently become monastics and have not yet purified their souls of the passions, so it is not surprising that they do not differ greatly in their outlook and behaviour from those in the world' (Farasiotis, 2008: 21). Further, not all monks are of the same spiritual stature: 'Others, few in number, have failed to advance, but have even gone backwards spiritually, because they did not struggle conscientiously' (Farasiotis, 2008: 21). With respect to resistance, and ICTs, both monastic maturity and spiritual stature might have an impact.

The time available for informal interaction in an Orthodox monastic community is severely limited. Much of the day is spent in communal services or solitary prayer; further, communal meals are taken without conversation as the diners listen to a reading. A time recommended for such interaction is after Vespers and before people retire to bed at sunset (Speake, 2002). Such a timeframe only really exists in the sunnier half of the year, the time when the volume of visitors requiring hospitality at the monasteries is at its highest. As the greater volume of visitors in the summer might make for less chance to stay in the monastery and fewer opportunities to speak with the monks, I determined to visit through the autumn, winter and spring. Only my final visit, which was not at a time of my own choosing – but rather that of my employer and its collaborative partner college in Thessaloniki – took place in the summer. To counter the lack of time after Vespers I engaged with monks at other times by assisting them with their labour.

Picking olives on my second fieldwork episode provided a perfect opportunity to converse with the monks, finding out answers to my questions and confirming my understanding. In part this was because the monks were more willing to talk outside the precinct and partly because of the number and variety of monks assigned to this task. The dozen monks included two members of the Council of Elders (see section 5.3), plus the guest master, and five relatively fluent English speakers. The

monks and novices were of all ages, from 21 to 106, and were assisted by guest workers (see section 7.5). Individual or small group conversations with up to three monks were possible as we worked around a tree or walked between the groves. Larger collective discussions were possible when riding in the truck to and from the monastery or over the informal lunch, when the numbers of monks swelled with the server from the refectory and the driver joining us, having brought the food down from the monastery.

From my prior experience of conversing with monks I knew that it is not considered appropriate – and indeed it is often impossible – for a layperson to seek to control the flow and nature of conversation too closely. Metropolitan Nikolaos of Mesogaia recounts such an encounter from his first pilgrimage to Mount Athos, before he became a monk, which I feel is worth reproducing as an illustration:

The guest master... was whispering something over and over again. I observed him carefully. He was saying the prayer 'Lord, Jesus Christ, have mercy upon me.' I tried to look him in the eyes but it was impossible to meet his glance...

Another pilgrim who was there asked, 'Father, how tall are you?'

'Lord have mercy,' said Fr Mitrophan: that was the guest master's name.

There was silence for a while. After a few minutes, someone else piped up

'How long have you been in the monastery?'

'Glory to you, O God,' was his reply.

Another period of silence followed.

'Father, how many monks are there in the monastery?' came the third question.

'Come, and I will show you to your rooms,' he answered, and we all stood up.

Someone asked if they could take his photograph.

‘What do you need a photograph for?’ he objected.

‘To remember you,’ the pilgrim insisted.

‘You should keep heaven and hell as your constant remembrance,’ replied the monk, destroying for good every hope of imprinting on paper his blessed countenance, the face of a child of some eighty years old. (Hatzinikolaou and Makropoulos, 2007: 87-88)

Of another monk, Metropolitan Nikolaos concluded that: ‘During the thirty years or so he had spent in the monastery he might have uttered no more than thirty words of worldly conversation’ (Hatzinikolaou and Makropoulos, 2007: 98). Therefore I determined that seemingly unstructured interviews were most likely to be effective, with some memorised points and questions – usually prepared on my journey to the mountain or in the evening before bed – to try to ensure that sufficient data was obtained.

However, preparation could not always break down monks’ reticence, especially with respect to resisting the monastery’s – or rather the Abbot’s – resistance towards ICTs. Sometimes a question would be met by a smile, an aphorism, a monk walking off, or a question on a very different topic e.g. ‘Are converts to Orthodoxy in the UK hated, as those from Orthodoxy are in Greece?’ (see especially section 7.4). One monk, whenever he saw me, would ask in a rather abrupt fashion: ‘What do you want?’ To me this seemed rather rude, however, I later read that Panaghia, the Mother of God, used the literal Greek equivalent, ‘*Ti thelete?*’, when appearing out of an icon, in response to an intercession (Elder Paisios of Mount Athos, 1996: 31). On other occasions my questions would be answered with disarming frankness.

My presence as a researcher is likely to have had an influence on the form and content of conversation. For example, the monks spoke warmly to me of St. Andrew’s Skete and Dionysiou (monastery). The reason for the warm mentions may have been more to do with me, and my spirit,

than that of the monks. Father Teilo informed me that at St. Andrew's Skete and Dionysiou there are English monks. He – and some other monks – had learnt this from Father Alban who visited St. Andrew's Skete for the Feast of Saint Andrew which took place on the second day of my first stay at IM. On his return, Father Alban learnt of my presence in the monastery from Father Teilo and informed him and the others of these English monks.

Another interaction challenge was the fact that few of the monks were able to converse fluently in English. My Greek studies certainly aided interaction, however, I was also fortunate that for my second fieldwork episode the steward assigned to me a guest worker who spoke English. Several of the earlier interviews could not have happened in such an effective manner without his assistance. This was my first prolonged stay in a particular Athonite monastery, and my first visit to Mount Athos after learning Greek. Without my trusted English-speaking aide by my side I was sometimes too tired from the labour, and nervous in Greek, to make the most of the conversational opportunities that presented themselves, whether at my first informal lunch in the olive groves or journey in the truck. It took me several days to adapt myself, both to the routines and rhythms of life in the monastery and to hearing and speaking Greek. The presence of the guest worker may have impacted upon what the monks felt able to say; however, as he was discreet, and conscientious, as well as nearing the end of his stay, I do not think that this had a significant impact.

4.5 Inscribing ethnography

Etymologically, ethnography means writing about people (from the Greek *ἔθνος*, people, and *γράφω*, to write). The last section was primarily concerned with the people of my study, both myself as subject and the monks as object; this section is concerned with the act and art of writing about these people. I begin by considering the capturing of my observations and interactions and end with considering the creation of this thesis.

Writing down

Detailed field notes are the bedrock of ethnography. They 'become a source of evidence and a basis for data analysis' (Oates, 2006: 176) and thus they 'can and should be faithful representations of real events' (Madden, 2010: 118). Having said this, initial inscription forms part of observation, and – as it is not possible to record everything – entails selection which is 'always strategic and sometimes subjective' (Madden, 2010: 119). There was no way around this issue for the *diamonitirion* specifies that no recording of monks may take place on the Holy Mountain. Whilst the verb used implies visual recording it is also considered in practice to encompass audio recording in addition. This meant that I did therefore face the issue of strategic and subjective note-taking.

Recording what was said and what I asked of each monk during a conversation could sometimes prevent me from asking further questions to build-up a more complete picture. To begin with everything seemed noteworthy although as my familiarity with each monk increased, I generally found less need to make notes. I might, for example, ask them only one question connected with my research, identified beforehand, based on the picture I'd constructed thus far. In this kind of scenario I could commit their answer to memory and transcribe later, at a more convenient time and in a less intrusive place. After all, the interviews were interspersed throughout my activities in the monastery e.g. shaking an olive tree or scrubbing the church floor. I recorded notes as and when I could: in short breaks during the day. Such breaks came before or after meals or services, whilst awaiting instructions or a lift in a truck, and occasionally were forced on the pretext of requiring a toilet break – a practice I was relieved to find I was not the only ethnographer to employ (Madden, 2010).

Note-taking did upon occasion disrupt the interaction between myself and the monks. This was particularly the case when one of us was communicating in a language which was not our first. However, this is not the first doctorate to encounter such a challenge and work around it: 'Because of perceived sensitivities in the research subjects, explicit note-taking was kept to a minimum and

tape-recording was eschewed entirely' (Rose, 2000: 49). To compensate for this 'perceptions and observations were meticulously documented, using the diary method' (Rose, 2000: 49). Further, to minimise the intrusiveness of note-taking I used a coding schedule (Mintzberg, 1973) determined during my first fieldwork episode for basic information and contextual data (e.g. A for age, M for number of years as a monk or year in which tonsured, P for previous occupation or profession, Θ for Thessaloniki). These 'jottings' (Bernard, 2002) in the moment – or participatory field notes (Madden, 2010) – concentrated on capturing as much information as possible, in as condensed a form as possible. Their purpose was my recording of what I saw or what I heard said, and of what informants stated they saw or heard, data which involved their interpretation.

A second type of data resulting from my ethnography were 'proper' field notes (Bernard, 2002) – or consolidated field notes (Madden, 2010) – my fuller recollection of the events of the day. These encompassed participatory field notes for those times for which I could not make notes earlier together with more reflective notes of my feelings and perceptions as I conducted the ethnography, which could be classed as experiential data (Delbridge and Kirkpatrick, 1994). They even included diagrams reflecting my emergent understanding of the site. Such notes were also by necessity handwritten, not just because voice (and video) recording is prohibited on the mountain, but because the lack of electricity in the guest accommodation rendered ICTs quickly redundant. These I strove to write each night, even if by torchlight under my blanket or beside an oil lamp in the corridor. Within the monastery I became 'infamous' for my evenings and Sundays of note-writing; on my fourth visit I met a pilgrim who had heard from a monk that I had written my entire thesis in the dormitory (if only this were the case!).

Two other important types of data resulting from my ethnography were diary and log field notes (Bernard, 2002). The former 'is personal... a place where you can run and hide when things get tough. You absolutely need a diary ...It will help you deal with loneliness, fear, and other emotions that make fieldwork difficult' (Bernard, 2002: 369). The latter is to keep a systematic approach to

the gathering of ethnographic data. Whilst Bernard considers these should be separate I considered that my personal and subjective experiences of the field – even if unrelated to the research questions – were relevant to my study. During Great Lent, for example, when the fasting is especially strict – one, essentially vegan, meal per day – I took to noting what I ate each day. This was not data I required for the thesis, but somehow it helped me to struggle through the hunger. Likewise, records of my progress against plans made at the start of each fieldwork episode I also considered were relevant to my study. My approach was therefore to have one fieldwork notebook at any one time (eventually I would fill two 244 page books) for all purposes (Madden, 2010). This had the benefit of me only having to carry one book with me at a time, and the monks soon became familiar with my ecclesiastical-style books (based on early Christian gospels, courtesy of paperblanks®).

Writing out

In the setting of Mount Athos, the restricted access to electricity which made it impossible to electronically write down my ethnographic experiences also prevented me taking advantage of features of word-processing, text editing and qualitative research software that would assist me in writing out my data, at least through the duration of the fieldwork episode. This also had implications for my coding and supplementing of these field notes so as to enable analysis and interpretation, discussed in this subsection.

Prior to my fieldwork I had undertaken training in NVivo and considered that it would be a useful aid in analysing the written data that I would accumulate. However, as the main source texts, my field notebooks, were necessarily handwritten, in poor handwriting (often by torchlight) and in a mixture of languages, transcription by another seemed impractical. Transcription by myself, once I became Head of Department, also seemed unrealistic. Further, as much of the content of such notebooks was my account, rather than quotations from informants, the words themselves were

less important than if the data consisted solely of interview transcripts. Therefore the data was initially analysed via a more traditional approach.

For example, for the field notes from my second fieldwork episode I began by annotating the margins of my notebook with codes on my journey back from Mount Athos. Upon my return to Cardiff I compiled an electronic index of the codes and the page numbers at which they appeared in my handwritten notebooks to ease their speedy access and analysis. As I did so I revisited my original coding, making further annotations. This open coding (O'Reilly, 2012) resulted in 55 codes, six of which were further subdivided. The codes usually, although not always, appeared on more than one page, up to a maximum of 10 pages. They tended to be descriptive (e.g. why monks came to Athos) although some were more interpretive (e.g. relation of freedom to technology). I then grouped these codes into higher-level themes, and then re-grouped them, as the latent meaning in my field notes emerged. For this episode the themes were: description of setting, physically isolated yet spiritually connected, resistant to technology yet impressed by human creation, constrained yet free and, finally, issues. To give a fuller example of the codes, the last theme, issues, consisted of seven: selection of monastery; pilgrim, researcher or potential vocation; language; covert – even when overt; interviewing monks; anonymity; writing as well as picking. The themes then became the section headings of my electronic fieldwork reflection, consisting of 6,000 words, which I completed within six weeks of the episode.

This writing out was iterative, being repeated for each subsequent fieldwork episode. On my fourth and fifth fieldwork episodes I began this process whilst on Mount Athos, constructing a handwritten index, and then identifying themes, within my notebook. By this point the broad themes of my study had emerged and had become more closely connected to my conceptual framework, outlined in chapter 3. I had begun to move from seeing patterns in the data, creating understanding, towards viewing relationships between these patterns, creating explanation (LeCompte and Schensul, 1999); in other words moving from what the monks were doing, to why

they were doing it. My fieldwork reflections also grew longer, to 7,600 words, and contained more secondary sources in addition to the primary and experiential data of my field notes (Delbridge and Kirkpatrick, 1994).

An ethnography needs to be sufficiently contextualised such that it is sensitive to influences beyond and behind the organisation, and so that it can marry the ‘tribal’ (fieldwork) and ‘scribal’ (academic) domains (Boon, 1982). Documentary evidence is used in the thesis to do this. Mount Athos is regularly featured in the Greek press, especially the monastery of Vatopedi and scandals concerning the sale of land. Whilst such reports can often be sensationalist, those to be found in the quality press, such as *To Vima* (generally associated with the Pan-hellenic Socialist Movement, the party of the centre-left) and *Kathimerini* (generally associated with New Democracy, the party of the centre-right) are considered reliable, indeed, more reliable in such cases than ecclesiastical, legal or governmental pronouncements. *Kathimerini*, unlike *To Vima*, has content in English and a comprehensive website with archive. Therefore *Kathimerini English*, their weekly digest edition in English, was subscribed to and read, whilst in addition, targeted searches were made for relevant content on their Greek language website from the full range of articles.

Beyond the press, I used other texts to confirm and extend my understanding. Some of these have already been mentioned in section 4.4 as they informed my pre-fieldwork background reading and theorising. Now I accumulated further texts to inform my post-fieldwork synthesis of primary and secondary data. Of fundamental importance were the writings of Saint Basil the Great (Morison, 1912), which to this day shape the monastic practices of Mount Athos. In addition I consulted books by current and former Athonite monks (e.g. Archimandrite Vasileios of Stavronikita, 1999; Cleopa and Heers, 2002; Hatzinikolaou and Makropoulos, 2007) and by regular visitors to the Holy Mountain (e.g. Cavaros, 1973; Bishop Kallistos of Diokleia, 1983; Cavaros, 1999; Speake, 2002).

I also visited other monasteries throughout the period of my research. As well as visits to the other nineteen monasteries on Mount Athos, in my vacations I also visited other Orthodox monasteries

in Greece, Russia, Ukraine, Bulgaria, Serbia, Belarus, Lithuania, Finland, Spain, the Netherlands, England and Scotland. This provided an opportunity to reflect on my thinking and make further contacts. Although beyond my fieldwork site, these visits assisted in validating the findings from my site by enabling more (and more variety) of resistance to be accessed and identified and by prompting me to consider how representative this ethnographic case may be of Orthodox monastic institutions. This was important as the extreme case of Mount Athos was not chosen for its representativeness of monks as a whole.

Writing up

My fieldwork reflections, which I wrote out from my ethnographic data, adding value through analysis towards interpretation, set the scene for the writing up of my ethnographic story. According to Van Maanen an ethnography needs to take into account the following four elements:

(1) the assumed relationship between culture and behaviour (the observed); (2) the experiences of the fieldworker (the observer); (3) the representational style selected to join the observer and observed (the tale); (4) the role of the reader engaged in the active reconstruction of the tale (the audience). (2011: xi)

The observed and the observer were the primary concern of section 4.4 and the earlier subsections of this. In terms of style, the text needs to balance scientific validity with rhetorical persuasiveness (Madden, 2010). Ethnography is not simply reporting – i.e. a literal, standalone description – it is the creative construction of a storied reality, which links description to theories and issues beyond it. According to Madden (2010) such storied realities need to do four things: first, explain the research question and justify being in the field; second, furnish an ethnographic description supported by the authority of having been in the field; third, analyse and interpret the resulting data; fourth, substantiate the reason for being in the field through resolving or concluding the project.

Whilst these key elements may appear in any order, in ethnography a classic approach is to feature an arrival scene first (e.g. Firth, 1936). This furnishes an ethnographic situation with support from the authority of having been in the field, saving the purpose of being in the field as a surprise to be revealed later. This thesis, however, follows doctoral convention more closely by taking them in the given order. Thus in chapters 1 to 4 of this thesis I explain the research question and justify being in the field. I furnish an ethnographic description supported by the authority of having been in the field, and analyse and interpret the resulting data in chapters 5 to 7. Combining these two elements recognises that 'while we might identify ethnographic description and analysis and interpretation as separate events, they must never be divorced from each other in the writing of ethnography' (Madden, 2010: 161). Finally, I substantiate the reason for being in the field through concluding with answers to my research questions in chapter 8.

As well as the issue of what a written-up ethnography needs to do, there is also the issue of the writing style by which it does this. Van Maanen (2011) discusses three genres of ethnographic tale: realist, confessional and impressionist. The realist genre is generally the most common and popular (Van Maanen, 2011) and it is the dominant ethnographic representation in doctoral theses (Madden, 2010). This genre is recognisable by the studied neutrality of the researcher, who assumes a dispassionate third person voice, the categorisation of individuals to present typical actions and words and the use of minute description and extended, edited, quotations which are then theoretically framed (Van Maanen, 2011). In contrast, in the confessional genre, the second most common, the disembodied ethnographer brings themselves into the first person and incorporates 'stories of infiltration, fables of fieldwork rapport, mini melodramas of hardships endured (and overcome), and accounts of what fieldwork did to the fieldworker' (Van Maanen, 2011: 73). In this genre, therefore, what the ethnographer subjectively felt, as well as what they objectively observed, becomes significant (Van Maanen, 2011). In his own doctoral research Madden (2010) employed a mixture of these two styles. The impressionist genre entails use of

narrativisation, characterisation, dramatic control and plot twists – more commonly associated with the writing of fiction (Van Maanen, 2011).

Whilst in other writing genres I have adopted a different combination of styles (e.g. Russell, 2013b), in this thesis I combine realist, confessional and impressionist genres in that order of weighting. The balance of these three genres varies through the following three chapters, although each is theoretically framed by a dimension of social practice. Chapter 5, and to a slightly lesser extent chapter 6, are primarily written in the realist genre to evoke a solid sense of the participant group. However, there are elements of the impressionist genre in chapter 7 as I recount the twists and turns of the games of resistance which played out in the monastery. In this chapter, and where relevant in the chapters which follow, I have also embraced the confessional genre, reconciling the realist and impressionist qualities with a more methodologically reflexive approach common in the confessional genre. As with the four key elements of storied reality, this balance has been shaped in part by doctoral convention, in part by what I felt suits the tale and the audience best. Ultimately, however, it is only you, the reader, who can judge whether I have succeeded in this.

4.6 Considering ethics

My chosen research approach and techniques were applied with consideration to ethical principles such as according to organisational rules, obtaining informed consent and ensuring no harm would come to participants (BSA, 2002). All interviews were made after informed consent was obtained from the informants, in either Greek or English. As mentioned in section 4.5 the *diamonitirion* specifies that no recording of monks may take place on the Holy Mountain. I briefly considered flouting this rule, to improve the accuracy of my recording and the quality of my translation where the interviewees spoke in Greek. However, I felt this was unethical and feared it might negatively influence the interviewees – even if they accepted they would feel awkward – and might ultimately, if repeated, jeopardise my continued presence in the monastery. This left open the possibility of note-taking, subject to informants' consent. Fortunately, this was not in any case withheld.

With regard to observations, prior informed consent was not practically possible from each monk in every instance i.e. I might observe them before I interviewed them. However, in such cases informed consent for my observations was retrospectively obtained; the only monk of the monastery I did not interview I also did not observe, due to their ill health. My presence in the monastery was not a secret, having registered upon arrival with the guest master, and as a relatively small community such information was quickly disseminated, whether formally or informally. This was apparent as within a few hours of my arrival several monks introduced themselves to me and proffered an opinion on my primary research question! Further, as soon as was practically possible, after his return from Thessaloniki, I obtained the blessing, i.e. permission, of the Abbot for my research (in the meantime researching with the blessing of the Steward, Father Neot).

Building real, ethical, informed consent, of course, meant more than just eliciting initial approval. It meant ongoing consideration for the interests of the monks. At times I felt some of the data I had gathered on resistance, whilst serving my interests as the researcher and those of academic knowledge in terms of truth-telling, might not serve the interests of the monks involved if published. It was for this reason I was always of the view that anonymity and confidentiality were important, even though the Abbot and steward were keen, at least initially, for me to 'tell the world about [the monastery] and [their] resistance'. It was also for this reason that as the stories developed, and the data was revisited with the monks, I re-confirmed with them that they were happy that the data would not harm their interests.

Further, there is the risk, or more likely fact, that I might have shaped or biased my recording of the data, for 'because we are part of the social world we are studying we cannot detach ourselves from it, or for that matter avoid relying on our common sense knowledge and life experiences when we try to interpret it' (Delbridge and Kirkpatrick, 1994: 43). To counter this I asked the informants to verify my record of our interactions. In some early cases where a monk had spoken

in Greek, and I had made notes in English this was necessarily a little inexact. This exercise was possible for interviews, but was not feasible for each monk I observed. It proved useful as it resulted in my misunderstandings being corrected, for example which monks constituted the Council of Elders, and reminded participants of our previous conversations in readiness for further discussion. This served to verify factual information and my understanding of practices rather than analytical interpretations which were my own.

As this research is about resistance the issues of anonymity and confidentiality are especially important as they serve to ensure no harm would come to participants (BSA, 2002). Confidentiality relates to non-disclosure to anyone of any information which can lead to identification of individuals who provided it (Denscombe, 2010). It is closely related to anonymity: separating the individuals from the information they give (Frankfort-Nachmias and Nachmias, 2014), practically meaning 'the identity of those taking part not being known outside the research team' (Lewis, 2003: 67). Anonymity and confidentiality have implications not only for ethics, but also for methodology (De Vaus, 2001): if informants are convinced that the information they provide is kept strictly confidential, it is more likely that they give honest and complete replies. This is particularly important when the topic is resistance. An aspect of this is the matter of data storage.

One of my first tasks, having written my field notes, was to ensure their safety and security. This was not a problem with both cargo trousers and a military-style jacket in the autumn, winter and spring, however, in the summer, when it was too hot for a jacket, it made for very stuffed trouser pockets! On my return from the mountain, my notebooks were stored in a locked drawer. My electronic fieldwork reflections, where some of this data was reproduced, before beginning to be analysed and interpreted, were similarly sensitive. My working version, on my laptop, was fingerprint and password protected. My back-up copies, on a portable hard disk and USB stick, were encrypted and also stored in a locked drawer. The names of the informants were not disclosed beyond my Director of Studies and my other supervisors.

In this thesis, and other publications arising from this fieldwork (e.g. Russell, 2013b) the individuals who were interviewed have been given an appropriate pseudonym as have Elders and Saints mentioned in those interviews if these would lead to identification of the monastery. All forty one have been assigned names of male Orthodox Saints from Great Britain and Ireland (from Moss, 2008), and all tonsured monks will be referred to as Father, following Greek practice, regardless of whether they are priests or not. Novices and other postulants will be referred to as Brother. In the cases of the two monks who were tonsured between my fieldwork episodes they will be referred to according to their status at the time I observed or interviewed them. In addition the monastery has been given the pseudonym of IM which stands for *Iera Moni*, meaning Holy Monastery (Friends of Mount Athos, 2014c). I have not identified other mainstream Athonite Greek-speaking monasteries when making comparisons so that IM cannot be identified via a process of elimination. Where I have made a sustained comparison, or referred to multiple other monasteries, for readability I have assigned a variant pseudonym, *IMn*, starting with IM2. The two extremes of Vatopedi and Esphigmenou, however, are referred to by name due to their peculiar characteristics which are well-reported in both Greek and English language media. The three remaining Athonite monasteries are not anonymised as each is distinctive, one being Bulgarian- (Zographou), one Serbian- (Chilandariou) and one Russian-speaking (Panteleimonos). Likewise, I have generally referred to sketes by name as these institutions have different characteristics to monasteries. The exception being where a particular known connection between IM and a skete might lead to IM's identification. In this case I have assigned a pseudonym, *Sn*, starting with S1. In addition, I have edited some specifics of the monastery's physical location, its history, and citations to texts concerning it, where these may also have led to its relatively easy identification.

In this thesis I do refer to monks via their role, with their permission to do so. This means that monks from the monastery, knowing as they do about this thesis, could potentially identify individual's responses. This risk was deemed necessary in researching the positional dimension of

social practice where organisational roles and structures are key. The feeling of the monks was that nothing is private in a monastery; the Abbot knows all.

Two aims of critical research are emancipation and non-performative intent (Howcroft and Trauth, 2005), both of which require ethical commitments of sorts. The first is to empower people, freeing them from power relations rather than just understanding or explaining their predicament. The second, related commitment, is to avoid serving the managerial needs of power and control and aims of efficiency and productivity. If my research has resulted in the Abbot restricting or exploiting the resistance I have uncovered, then neither of these aims will be fulfilled. With respect to the second aim, I also need to consider whether I exacerbated or accelerated technological change in the monastery by conducting my fieldwork, asking questions and provoking discussions. As a researcher I constantly strove not to give the monks ideas about monastic use of technology elsewhere, even when on occasion it would have made conversational sense to do so (see Chapter 6). However, the simple fact of asking questions may have raised consciousness of issues in the monastery or prompted ideas. Indeed, this was the impression I was left with by several of the monks during my final fieldwork episode in 2015, by which time the monastery's resistance to, and engagement with, ICTs was very different to when I commenced my fieldwork.

4.7 Conclusions

In this chapter I outlined my research practice to enable me to answer my research questions identified in chapter 1. I began by narrowing down my choice of fieldwork site. Monasteries, as a general type of organisation, suit my conceptual framework, having both identifiable and interesting positional, dispositional and figural dimensions of social practice. In terms of the positional dimension, monasteries are examples of institutions serving the latent pattern maintenance function. This makes for an interesting relationship with ICTs, which are artefacts from the adaptation function, usually considered the opposing function to latent pattern maintenance (e.g. Sprott, 1963). Further, religious organisations have clearly defined, dominant,

roles and positions (Mouzelis, 1995). In terms of the dispositional dimension, monasteries have a particular *doxa*, a way of knowing and being, and specific practices. Given this and the likely high degree of congruence between the positional and dispositional dimensions, monasteries have the potential to offer meso-level resistance to ICTs. This is especially the case in the 'extreme instance' (Oates, 2006) of the Monks' Republic of Mount Athos, which has long enjoyed autonomy from 'mainland' Greece. It constitutes a 'unique opportunity' (Oates, 2006) as a new wireless internet infrastructure is being trialled, bringing high-speed internet access for the first time to the peninsula (Hellenic Telecommunications Organisation, 2008). Within this self-governing territory I chose to focus on one monastery from the twenty, one which was representative of the 'mainstream' of Mount Athos, being both Greek-speaking and accepting the oversight of the Œcumenical Patriarch of Constantinople (Speake, 2002), but had chosen to resist the ICTs offered, and enabled, by the Hellenic Telecommunications Organisation (OTE).

Next I considered my choice of research approach and strategy to realise my conceptual framework, and in so doing answer my research questions. My research approach, social causation, enables a focus upon the interconnections between agency and structure. Ethnography was chosen as the most appropriate means of generating the necessary qualitative data in the context of this research for it enables a context to be explored through the use of a variety of techniques: interviews, group discussions and participant observation. Ethnography as a research strategy has been shown to suit the study of resistance (Willis, 1977; Staudenmaier, 1985), introduction of ICTs into organisations (Zuboff, 1988; Oates, 2006) and another all-encompassing institution (King, 2013). Ethnography also suited the practical constraints, in terms of transport to and accommodation on, the Holy Mountain. It is important to point out here, as a foretaste of a more detailed criticism to be found in chapter 8, a limitation of this: it produces deep, detailed, nuanced knowledge of a specific site which may not be generalizable to other contexts.

I went on to describe and discuss how I did ethnography in my chosen fieldwork site. In preparation I described the reading, exploratory visit, language preparation and scheduling that took place before my fieldwork proper commenced. A key point of significance from this subsection is my choice of a multi-episode ethnographic strategy, on both theoretical (Matusik and Mickel, 2011) and practical grounds (Madden, 2010). In negotiation I described how I obtained and maintained access to my fieldwork site and its members, and discussed the challenge of being an academic within a religious organisation. A key point of significance from this subsection is that I was to a large extent an insider, being an Orthodox Christian, however, I was not a complete insider for I am neither Greek nor an Orthodox Christian under the Œcumenical Patriarchate of Constantinople, the patriarchate under whose oversight the monks of Mount Athos reside. I was thus close enough to secure access and possess empathy, but not so close as to lose criticality, essential in answering my research questions. In participation I recounted the challenge of playing a full part in the physical work and spiritual life of the monastery whilst also conducting this research. Finally, in conversation I recounted how I gathered data from talking with the monks, and the challenges I faced in doing this, including my own linguistic capabilities and the monks' reticence.

In the section inscribing ethnography, I outlined and justified the choices I made with respect to how I recorded, analysed, interpreted and then presented my observations and conversations. Lastly, I considered the ethical issues in, and implications of, my research.

The data gathered by my research practice will be analysed in the following chapters with the aid of my conceptual framework presented in chapter 3. The next chapter explores this through the positional dimension of social practice. This, setting the subsystem of study, IM, in the broader context of a societal system will serve as a more detailed introduction to the case.

4.8 Dramatis personae

The monks of IM

Abbot Wilfrid, elected for life

Neot, Hieromonk and Steward

Alban, Hieromonk and Confessor, former teacher of mathematics

Credan, representative to the capital, Karyes

Ninian

Teilo, guestmaster

Cuthbert, chainsaw-wielder

Alphege, Greek-Australian electrician

Oswald, icon-painting Ecclesiarch

Illtud, octopus-catching diabetic

Felix, arthritic breadmaker (and PhD in Biochemistry)

Brendan, nearly-blind French-speaker


Botolph, the new electrician

Egbert, formerly a physics undergraduate who takes the habit

Dunstan, formerly a bus driver who takes the habit

Aaron, who takes the habit

Ciaran



Members of
the Council
of Elders

Barry

Trumbert

Dogmael

Chad

Dyfrig

Bede

Adrian

Asaph

Nectan

Brannoc

Akmund

A novice of IM

Aidan, motorised vehicle refusenik

Guest workers at IM

Kevin, my companion in the olive groves

Finbar, my guide to ‘the house of mirrors’

Edward, former professional footballer

Edmund, former karate instructor

Swithin, otherwise a seasonal worker in the resort of Malya in Crete

A pilgrim to IM

Malo, provider of digital photos

Monastics elsewhere

Abbess Winefrid, Abbess of the *metochi*

Asaph, Ronan, Adrian, Govan, Osyth – all at sketes

Edwin

Elders Kenneth, David and Declan

Chapter 5

The Positional Dimension of an Athonite Monastery

‘The hand-mill gives you society with the feudal lord; the steam-mill, society with the industrial capitalist... The hand-mill presupposes a different division of labour from the steam-mill.’ (Marx, [1847] 1973: 95, 116)

‘Here individuals are dealt with only in so far as they are the personifications of...categories’

(Marx and Engels, [1867] 1974: 21)

5.1 Introduction

Chapter 4 explained my approach to and design for researching meso-level resistance to ICTs in a monastic organisation and how the study was carried out. This and the following two chapters provide the results of the fieldwork integrated with critical discussion and analysis. Each of these chapters is structured according to a dimension of my conceptual framework, which I developed in chapter 3 from the work of Mouzelis, and answers a specific subsidiary research question. Having been developed in chapter 1, these subsidiary research questions were first explored in chapter 2, with reference to the extent ICT literature, and in chapter 3, with reference to theoretical resources.

This chapter focuses on answering my second subsidiary question (SQ2): how do the structures and functions of an organisation impact on, or relate to, resistance to ICTs? It is 170 years since Marx penned the first quotation above ([1847] 1973), but it is still the case: on the one hand the adoption of a new technology can restructure society; on the other hand, the structure of society can help or hinder the same technology’s adoption. The chapter explores this through dialogue between my ethnographic data, which emerged through pursuing the methodology described in

chapter 4, the work of Mouzelis and Parsons, explored in detail in chapter 3, and the relevant extant literature, especially that of Orlikowski (1992), explored in detail in chapter 2. Just as Marx and Engels ([1867] 1974) focused on categories, in their case class, as encapsulated in the second quotation at the start of this chapter, so this chapter, following Parsons' focus, is concerned with individuals exclusively in relation to their roles and positions and the functions of IM. Writing with a functional focus is not a natural result of conducting ethnography and I am aware that this can at times seem distant from my fieldwork site. However, the picture I paint here is refined and given depth in the following two chapters that explore the two further dimensions of social practice: the dispositional and the figurational.

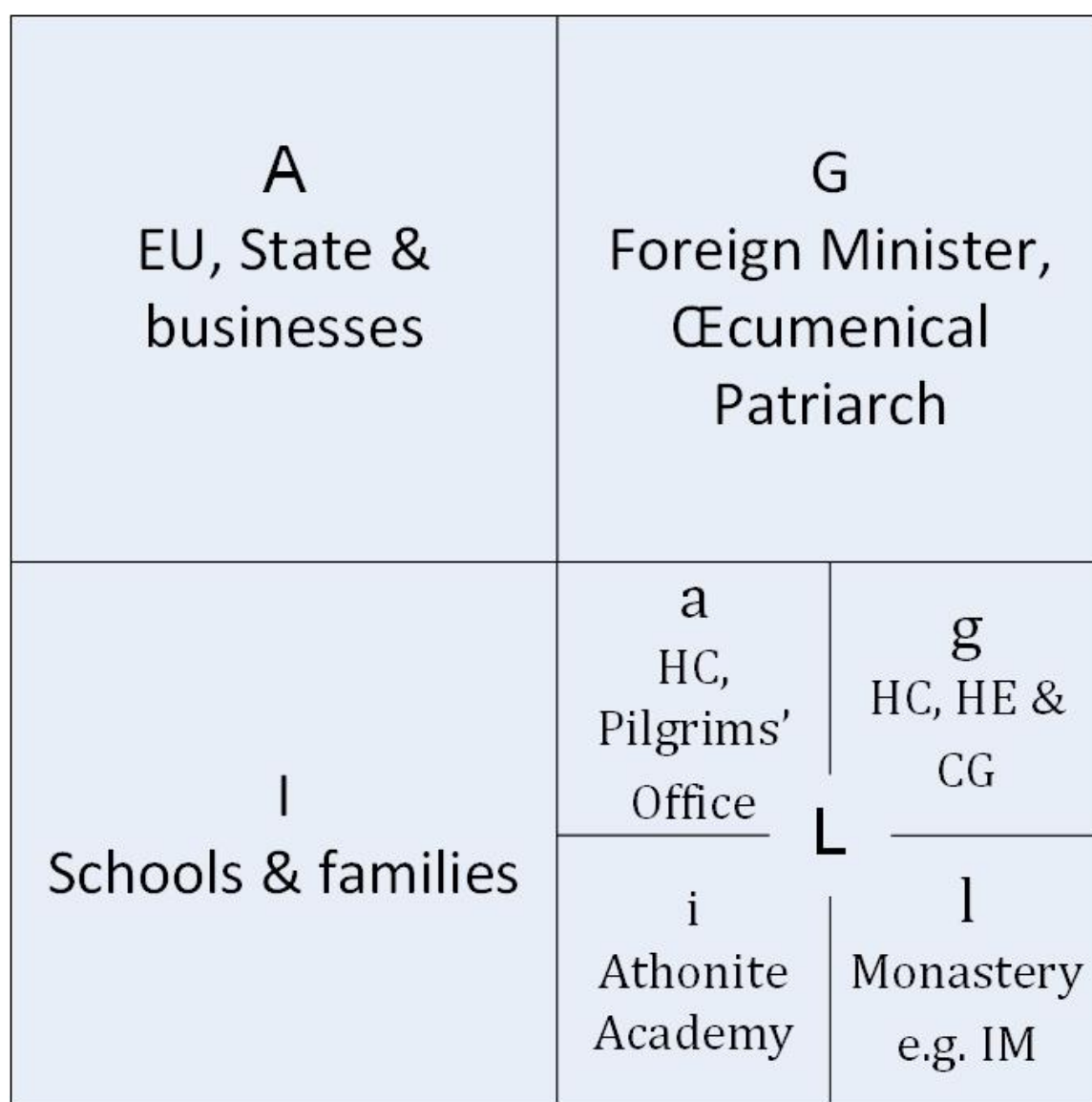
This chapter begins by considering the position of IM *vis-à-vis* macro-level institutions outside the Holy Mountain and other meso-level organisations within it, via application of Parsons' AGIL schema. This section also relates this to engagement with – or resistance towards – ICTs. The next section, 5.3, drills down to meso- and micro-levels by expanding the latent pattern maintenance box of section 5.2 to explore relations within it in more detail. The particular focus is IM, both in terms of its internal functions and its relations to the adaption, goal-attainment and integration functions of the Holy Community as a whole. The normative role expectations within IM of the Abbot, Council of Elders and other monks are explored through these functions. As with 5.2, this section also relates the schema at these levels to engagement with – or resistance towards – ICTs. It concludes by considering the extent to which there is differentiation between the functions of IM, and also the extent to which any one function dominates the others. Section 5.4 applies Mouzelis' technological, appropriative and ideological spheres in place of the AGIL schema at the micro-level of analysis. As identified in chapter 3, this means, for ICTs, applying the extant model of the duality of technology (Orlikowski, 1992). The findings are related back to whether these three spheres are indeed more appropriate for micro-level analysis than Parsons' AGIL schema.

5.2 AGIL applied at macro- to meso-levels

This section considers the position of IM *vis-à-vis* macro-level institutions outside the Holy Mountain and other meso-level organisations within it, via application of Parsons' AGIL schema. Parsons asserts that a social system must perform four functions in order to maintain itself: 'adaptation', 'goal-attainment', 'integration' and 'latent pattern maintenance' (Parsons and Smelser, 1956: 16-19). At the highest level these four functions are performed by the economy (adaptation), polity (goal-attainment), law (integration) and religion/kinship (latent pattern maintenance) subsystems (Parsons, 1961). In this context, one can say that the Holy Mountain performs a significant part of the latent pattern maintenance function for the Greek Orthodox macro-level social system. The adaptation function can be said to be performed by the Greek state (with the EU behind it) and businesses; the goal-attainment function by the Greek Minister for Foreign Affairs and the Œcumenical Patriarch of Constantinople; and the integration function by (Orthodox) schools and families across Greece. Such functions can be further subdivided, as explored in chapter 3. Thus the latent pattern maintenance function performed by the Holy Mountain may in turn be further subdivided into: an adaptation sub-function performed by the Holy Community and its Pilgrims' Office; a goal-attainment sub-function by the Holy Community, Holy *Epistasia* and Civil Governor of Mount Athos; an integration sub-function by the Athonite Academy² and a further latent pattern maintenance sub-function by the monasteries and dependent religious communities. The four following subsections will take as their focus one of these meso-level functions, contained within the bottom right-hand corner of the diagram (see figure 5.1). It will be applied to the Athonite context and discussed in relation to the other meso- and macro-level functions. Each of these four sub-functions is then, having been analysed, related to engagement with – or resistance towards – ICTs. The section concludes by considering the extent

² Occasionally called in English the Athonias Ecclesiastical Academy, the transliteration of its Greek name.

to which there is differentiation between the functions, and also the extent to which any one function dominates the others.



Acronym	Performer of Function
HC	The Holy Community
HE	The Holy <i>Epistasia</i>
CG	The Civil Governor of Mount Athos

Figure 5.1 AGIL applied at macro- to meso-levels

Goal-attainment: Holy Community, Holy *Epistasia* and the Civil Governor

In terms of governance, the Monks' Republic of Mount Athos, commonly referred to as the Holy Mountain, is a self-administering part of the Greek state guaranteed by the Treaty of Lausanne of 1923. The state is responsible for public order and security via the role of the Governor who is appointed by the Greek Minister for Foreign Affairs. In other matters the twenty monasteries govern the mountain under the supreme supervision of the Œcumenical Patriarch (of Constantinople). Between them they are responsible for the spiritual governance of the mountain and own all the land within its bounds. IM, like the other nineteen monasteries, sends a representative, Father Credan, to the capital Karyes. There they attend meetings of the Holy Community, the decision-making body, and man the 'embassy' of IM, a detached house incorporating a chapel.

Decisions by the Holy Community are by majority vote. Sometimes, however, an *impasse* is reached, and monasteries take matters into their own hands. Father Alphege, one of IM's monks, described such a situation, which occurred between my first and second fieldwork episodes. Nine of the monasteries (confirmed by Woodrow, 2009) wished to loan certain of their icons to an exhibition in Paris, in parallel with an exhibition of eighty icons from Bulgarian museums at the Chateau de Vincennes (von Uthmann, 2009). Most of the two hundred icons had not left the Holy Mountain previously, let alone Greece. According to Father Alphege this loan ultimately went ahead without the support of the Holy Community – Father Credan and ten other monastery representatives voted against – but with the support of macro-level political actors in both Athens and Constantinople: the exhibition was officially inaugurated by the then Greek Foreign Minister Dora Bakoyannis; also in attendance were the then Prime Minister Costas Karamanlis and Œcumenical Patriarch Bartholomew (Secretariat General of Information and Communication, 2009). According to Ms Bakoyannis, the exhibition reflected the broad co-operation shared by Greece and France and stated that 'these treasures belong to European culture and constitute an inseparable capital of Europe's history' (Secretariat General of Information and Communication,

2009). Certainly, since the 1980s, a European Union-funded effort to catalogue, protect and restore them has been under way, ‘a massive task that will take decades before it is completed’ (von Uthmann, 2009). This example from Father Alphege shows the power of Athens and Constantinople, when they act in concert, over the Holy Community; for this reason they both appear as macro-level goal-attainment, political, actors in my visual summary of this section (see figure 5.1).

With regard to engagement with – and resistance to – ICTs, Father Alphege believes that it was the Holy *Epistasia*, the executive body of which IM was not one of the four members at the time, rather than the Holy Community, which approved the WiMAX network trial on the mountain (Hellenic Telecommunications Organisation, 2008). If correct, this may have been because of anticipated resistance in the Holy Community. Even if not, the absence of pan-mountain discussion and consensus between the monasteries opened up the possibility of individual monasteries resisting ICTs in practice.

Adaptation: the Holy Community and its Pilgrims’ Bureau

As revealed in the tale of the Paris exhibition, the Holy Mountain does receive external funding, notably from the European Union with matched funding from the Greek state, usually the Ministry of Culture and Tourism. For pan-Mountain projects, such as road building and works, the Holy Community is involved, together with the Civil Governor. Such funding is delimited in scope and for specific purposes.

More general funding of the Holy Community comes through the issuing of *diamonitiria*, the visa-like documents that controls entry to the Monks’ Republic, described in section 4.2. In terms of the adaptation function, the income from these helps sustain the administrative functioning of the Mountain. Whilst each *diamonitirion* costs relatively little – €25 for Orthodox pilgrims, €35 for non-Orthodox and €10 for students (Friends of Mount Athos, 2014a) – this can mount up to €2850 per day. The restricted number of *diamonitiria* was introduced as a response to the view of the

governing monasteries that the ease with which one could get to the Mountain was resulting in too many pilgrims for the monasteries to provide hospitality for, unless they changed their nature and way of life. This is an example of the latent pattern maintenance function taking priority over adaptation.

To be efficient and effective the restricting, and granting of, *diamonitiria* necessitates the use of ICTs. For this reason the Holy Community determined to develop an ICT system which would link the main Pilgrims' Office in Thessaloniki, where requests for general-purpose *diamonitiria* are authorised and logged, to its branch in Ouranoupolis, where *diamonitiria* are issued; and then link both of these to the twenty monasteries where they separately log, authorise and issue letters of invitation to those visiting just their monastery, often for a longer period of time. The twists and turns of the story are recounted in section 7.2. Ultimately, the system succeeded within the adaptation function at the meso-level, linking the main Pilgrims' Office to its branch. However, covert resistance from the monasteries, the latent pattern maintenance function, prevented several of the objectives of the system from being realised.

Latent pattern maintenance: IM

The twenty monasteries, although the best known institutions, are not the only form of monastic organisation on Mount Athos; the Athonite monastic system consists of various types of institution appropriate to the different needs of those called to be monastics on the Holy Mountain. These include the *kalyvi*, *kelli* and *skete*, in ascending order of size. A *kalyvi* is a, traditionally, simple monastic dwelling which has a chapel within it and a small area of land around it. Many *kalyvia* together form a *skete*, which functions like a small monastery. A *kelli* is a self-sufficient dwelling which contains a chapel and is usually surrounded by a large area of land. It is dependent on a monastery, does not belong to a *skete*, and tends to be bigger than a *kalyvi*. Often the elder of the *kalyvi* or *kelli* is a hesychast: a monk who practices mental stillness, inner spiritual concentration and unceasing prayer. Such was the spiritual grandfather of the current Abbot of IM. Monks can

choose, with their Abbot's blessing, to move between these different types of community. Father Asaph, who had previously been a monk at a governing monastery for nine years, described life in a skete as 'more like a family' than life in a monastery.

These smaller institutions are idiorhythmic i.e. they follow their own rule, albeit one which must be approved by the monastery on whose land they are placed. Father Ronan, himself at a skete, described life in a monastery as 'a sure way to salvation' in contrast to life in a skete which 'could be a way to damnation'. In other words, the structure and surveillance inherent in a monastery make sure that monks are on the right path – in a skete relative freedom can lead in different directions. Whilst visiting a skete I was invited into the cells of a couple of *gerontes*, elders, who each have charge of a *kalyvi*. These contrasted greatly with the relative bareness of those of monks in monasteries. Father Adrian's cell contained tapes, CDs, hundreds of books, oil paints, brushes, an easel and a desktop networked computer. It surpassed an academic's office in its diversity of artefacts and clutter. Father Govan's was similar. It lacked the CDs, and instead of a desktop had a laptop. This, he said, was used by one of the residents of the *kelli*, an icon painter who spends six months of the year on Athos. In addition the cell contained many bars of soap and leather belts: he is the primary producer of both on the mountain and he sells them to other monks via Karyes. Staying overnight in the *kalyvi* of Father Adrian, I was relieved to discover that the morning service began at 7am, some six hours later than many of the Athonite monasteries at this time of year.

The structure of the skete also permits a more ascetic rule to be practiced in its *kalyvia*. In the skete of Kafsokalyvia, for instance, Elder Akakios the Younger lived in the late seventeenth and early eighteenth century:

In order to subdue the passions and make unceasing prayer possible, he cultivated indifference to cold, heat, and fatigue; restricted his fare to bread, water, wild herbs and chestnuts, and partook of these only every two or three days; and slept no more than half an hour, believing that for a true monk half an hour's sleep is enough (Cavarnos, 1973: 67).

The AGIL schema excludes relations between the same function at the same level i.e. with like purposed institutions elsewhere. It is through a horizontal meso-level L->L relationship, between IM and other latent pattern maintenance organisations, primarily churches, outside the Holy Mountain, that many of the monks, guest workers and pilgrims come to IM. Edward, for example, had heard of IM through his parish priest in Crete. In most of the groups of Greek pilgrims I spoke to, at least one was a spiritual child of one of the priests, and this was often the result of the priest monks of IM serving at their daughter, dependent, convent in Thessaloniki. Such same function meso- to meso-level relations will be explored further in section 7.3.

Integration: the Athonite School

In terms of integration on the Holy Mountain, some of the postulants at monasteries on Mount Athos come from the Athonite School, a boarding school on the outskirts of Karyes. During my final visit to IM there were two current pupils of the school staying at IM during their vacation, being unable to return to Ukraine. As this suggests, integration on the Holy Mountain is also performed by the monasteries, in addition to latent pattern maintenance, the theoretical significance of which is explored in the next subsection.

Pilgrims, postulants and guest workers also come to IM through family connections, as well as the connections between IM and churches outside the Holy Mountain referred to in the previous subsection. Kevin heard of IM through his sister's father-in-law, a priest, who was a spiritual child of Father Alban. Father Oswald's father was a close friend of Abbot Wilfrid. The pupils, postulants and guest workers are schooled not just in religious matters, but also in how to live. The formation of pupils and postulants is described in more detail in section 6.3; that of guest workers in section 7.5. Some monasteries, although not currently IM, also contribute to the integration function outside of the mountain through their publications and guest lecture tours.

Differentiation and dominance

Through this macro- to meso-level application of the AGIL schema it is becoming apparent that the Athos-wide institutions are relatively weak. In the sub-section on goal-attainment, with respect to the exhibition of icons in Paris, the Holy Community was out-flanked by macro-level institutions, the Greek state and the Œcumenical Patriarchate, in combination with the monasteries. Further, with respect to ICTs, the Holy *Epistasia* may have approved the WiMAX network trial on the mountain but in the absence of pan-mountain discussion and consensus between the monasteries each can choose whether or not to participate. In the sub-section on adaptation, with respect to the implementation of a new ICT system for the restricting and granting of *diamonitiria*, covert resistance from the monasteries, themselves explored in the sub-section on latent pattern maintenance, prevented several of the objectives of the system from being realised. In the sub-section on integration, the monasteries have more links with families outside the Holy Mountain than does the Athonite Academy, and they also partially perform the integration function on behalf of the Athonite Academy. Of course, another interpretation is that the Athos-wide institutions are not weak in comparison with the monasteries *per se* but that the latent pattern maintenance function is dominant. This will be revisited in the next section where I apply the AGIL schema at the meso- to micro-levels.

5.3 AGIL applied at meso- to micro-levels

This section drills down to focus on IM, both in terms of its internal functions and its meso-level relations to the adaption, goal-attainment and integration functions of the Holy Community as a whole. Conceptually, it explores these meso- and micro-level relationships by expanding the latent pattern maintenance box of figure 5.1. Each of the subsystems identified in the bottom right quadrant of that diagram become one of the quadrants of the large box, IM now being further divided into new sub-subsystems for adaptation, goal-attainment, integration and latent pattern maintenance in the bottom right quadrant of figure 5.2. These functions are performed by monks holding particular roles within IM such as the Abbot and the Council of Elders. The normative

expectations of these roles are shaped by Saint Basil the Great, called ‘the Father of Eastern Monasticism’ (Adeney, 1908: 158) because:

Eastern monasticism is everywhere Basilian in name and form, so that there are no separate monastic orders in the East, and the modern Orthodox monasteries are very little different from those of the fourth century. (Morison, 1912: 132)

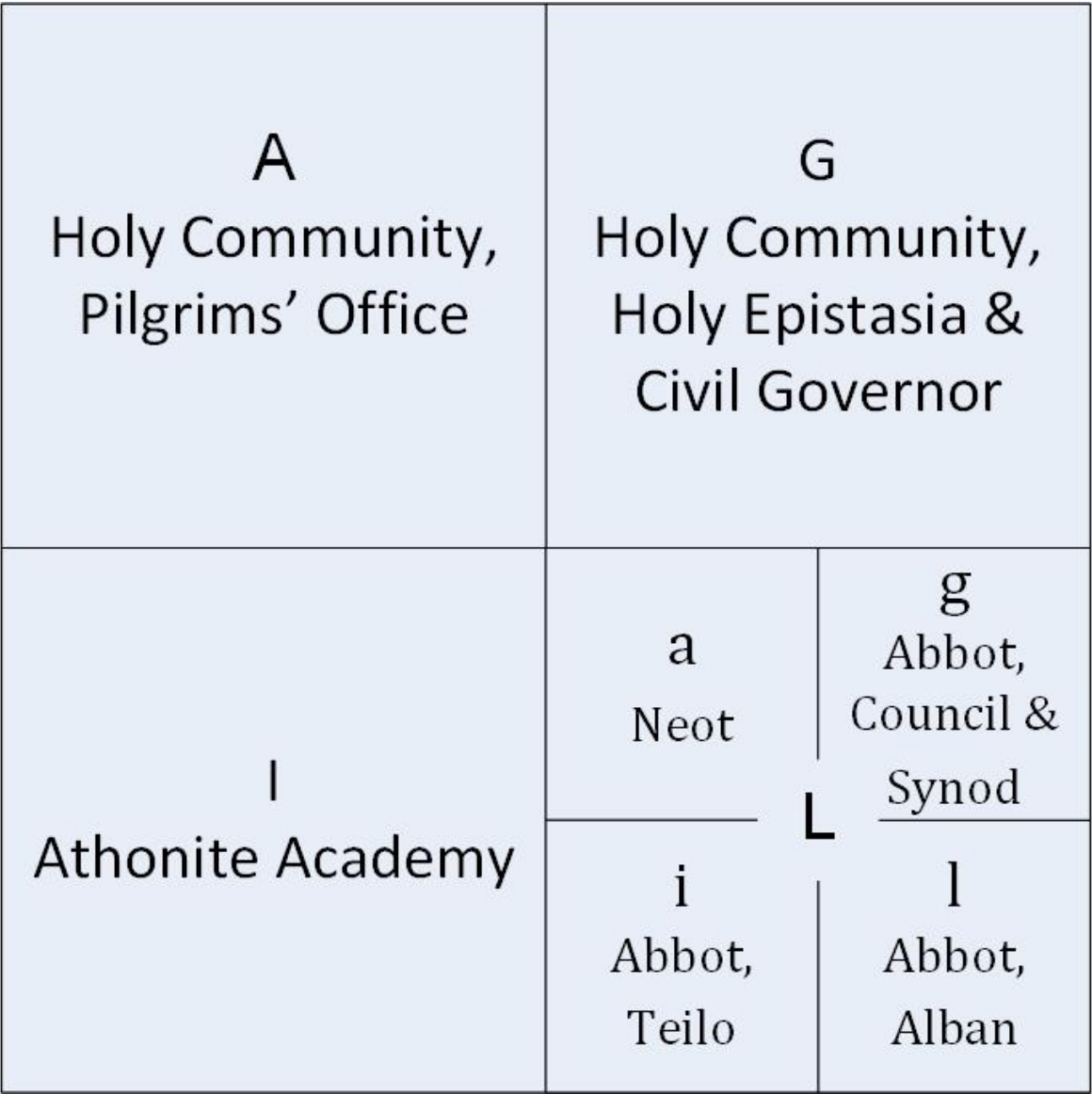


Figure 5.2 AGIL applied at meso- to micro-levels

As with the prior macro- to meso-level section, this section also relates the AGIL schema to engagement with – or resistance towards – ICTs and concludes by considering the extent to which

there is differentiation between the functions of IM, and also the extent to which any one function dominates the others.

Latent pattern maintenance: the Abbot

Seek out, with much care and thought a man who will be a safe guide to thee in thy manner of life, who knows well how to lead such as are journeying towards God, who is rich in virtues, showing forth by his works his love of God, and being wise in the Holy Scriptures...If thou canst find such a man, give thyself to him. Spurn and cast aside every wish of thine own, that thou mayest be found as a clean vessel, keeping ever pure to the praise and glory of God the virtues that are put in thee...And if thou thus give thyself to a man of many virtues, thou shalt...become heir to the goodness that is in him, and shalt be blessed above others in the sight of God and man...If, therefore, by the grace of God thou canst find a teacher of good works, keep him ever by thee, and do nothing without his counsel. For all that is done apart from him is but as theft and sacrilege, leading to destruction and not to usefulness, even though it appear to thee to be good. (De Ren³ 2-4)

Saint Basil's exhortation to aspiring monastics, above, reveals the import of the role of the Abbot. As my former tutor pithily puts it: 'the abba⁴ rather than the abbey' (Bishop Kallistos of Diokleia, 1983: 64) draws men to the Holy Mountain. This was confirmed at IM by Father Dunstan who considered that 'the Abbot fosters a special atmosphere in IM'; 'he shapes all'. This shaping is enabled by the key normative expectation of the Abbot of an Orthodox monastery: that he acts as a Spiritual Father to the monks, and serves as their confessor.

Central to the relationship between this guide and follower, and between followers, is openness concerning transgressions. Saint Basil states that 'the monk is not to conceal his sins from his

³ The abbreviation I use to refer to *An Ascetic Discourse on the Renunciation of the World, and on Spiritual Perfection* by Saint Basil, following the theological convention of abbreviating the Latin, and referring to each rule by number and verse. I use the translation by Morison (1912).

⁴ Father in Aramaic, and the etymological root of both Abbot and abbey.

brother or from himself' (Brev⁵ 229). Further: 'Every sin must be made known to the superior, either by the sinner himself, or by those who know of it, if they cannot themselves apply a remedy' (Brev 229 and Fus⁶ 26). This places the Abbot in an enormously powerful position vis-à-vis the monk. However, the Abbot must apply a remedy as a doctor does:

Correction should be applied to the wrong-doer after the manner of the physician, who is not angry with the patient, but fights against the disease... For example, pride will be corrected by ordering the practice of humility : foolish talking by silence : immoderate sleep by wakefulness in prayer : slothfulness by work : greediness by abstinence from food : discontent by separation from the rest of the brethren. (Fus 51)

Archimandrite Vasileios, formerly an Abbot of another Athonite monastery, explains that the relation of monk to Abbot is unlike that between employee and employer. In the parable of the prodigal son, the prodigal son:

[D]id not say to [his father]: "Look, I've wasted your fortune; now I will work, and make money, and pay you back, and we will settle everything." It is not a financial matter but a matter of being. (Archimandrite Vasileios of Stavronikita, 1999: 26)

In contrast, the elder son:

[D]oes not see himself as a son of the father, but rather like an employee of an employer. And when man, who is created to speak the language of a son to his father, speaks the language of an employee to his employer, then there is something wrong. If we had been made by a factory, if we had been produced by a computer like robots, then we could

⁵ The abbreviation I use to refer to the *Shorter Rules of Saint Basil*, following the theological convention of abbreviating the Latin, *Regulae Brevius Tractatae*, and referring to each rule by number and verse. I use the translation by Morison (1912).

⁶ The abbreviation I use to refer to the *Longer Rules of Saint Basil*, following the theological convention of abbreviating the Latin, *Regulae Fusius Tractatae*, and referring to each rule by number and verse. I use the translation by Morison (1912).

... speak this language... As human beings in the Church, we speak the language of personal relationships. There is my father, and I am a son, and I am unworthy. But the elder son takes it as a matter of economics. (Archimandrite Vasileios of Stavronikita, 1999: 26)

The role of compassionate parent is far from easy to perform, and requires sacrifices from the Father for the sake of his sons: 'In his dealings with the brethren...he will be eager to give each one not only the Gospel of God, but even his whole life, that thereby God may be pleased and the whole community benefited' (Brev 98). Having said this, the Abbot has also been described as the: 'one fixed centre of authority, one fountainhead from which all order and discipline proceed...Though there may be great variety of activity in the community life, there must at the same time be unity of administration' (Morison, 1912: 49). 'Elected for life' (Hatzinikolaou and Makropoulos, 2007: 55), it is to him that 'all monks owe absolute obedience' (Hatzinikolaou and Makropoulos, 2007: 55). Such 'obedience consists in the submission of our own wishes and desires to the will of God, after the pattern of Jesus Christ' (Brev 116).

However, the monks do not simply obey the Abbot, for 'mutual obedience is to be practised by all members of the community' (Morison, 1912: 49): 'obedience is also a social virtue, and is proof of love towards our neighbour, no less than of our love towards God' (Brev 115); 'the monk is not to be ashamed of accepting obedience from his brother' (Fus 31). Indeed, Brésard (2013) understands the 'rule' of Basil to suggest a 'horizontal cenobitism' which gives 'first place to fraternal relationships, insisting on the life of the community, on the communion of persons'. This contrasts with the writings of Cassian and the Rule of the Master where 'what counts most of all is the master-disciple relationship, the relationship between brothers takes second place' (Brésard, 2013), a 'vertical cenobitism' and the rule of Benedict which combines both approaches according to Brésard (2013). Whilst the more collegial, fraternal, 'horizontal cenobitism' could potentially help resistance by giving the monks more power it might also hinder resistance by subjecting each

monk to additional surveillance and control as found in more recent implementations of teamworking (Delbridge, 1995). This will be discussed in more detail in section 7.2.

Further, there exist constraints on the Abbot. For instance: 'If the superior should be guilty of wrong-doing, he is to be admonished by the senior brethren of the community' (Fus 27), the same, 'senior brethren of the community' who elected him (Fus 43). In extreme cases this might result in the Abbot, though elected for life, leaving his role: hence in Greek the term *prohegumen* for 'a former abbot who has either resigned or has been replaced' (Hatzinikolaou and Makropoulos, 2007: 58). Similarly: 'No brother is to be allowed to correct the superior in his answers, but may make suggestions to him in private' (Fus 45).

The import of the Abbot is displayed by a couple of public practices in the monastic communal services and mealtimes. At IM, as in the other Greek, Russian and Bulgarian Athonite monasteries, the monks and a proportion of the pilgrims approach the Abbot, seated in his throne, at the beginning, middle or end of the liturgy. As they do so, they bow or prostrate before the Abbot, between one and three times, and then proceed to kiss his hand, 'asking' for a blessing. At IM such asking of a blessing in the liturgy or at other times is a voluntary act. After services, at the communal meal, the Abbot sits at the head of the central table at one end of the refectory, accompanied by four monks from the Council of Elders: this is on the same level as the other tables and the food is seemingly the same as that for the other monks and pilgrims.

In contrast, the Abbot of Chilandariou, the Serbian monastery on Mount Athos, avoids these public displays of his importance. There the Abbot is seated next to the throne, and as pilgrims and monks approach to try to kiss his hand, he shakes it instead, and proceeds to kiss alternate cheeks, three times in total, as a gesture of brotherly love as practised in the Eastern Orthodox Churches and indeed more generally in their cultures. As this took place, many of the monks smiled, impressed it seemed by the humility of their Abbot. Similarly, in the refectory there is a raised platform

adorned with a table and chairs which remained unused, despite the refectory being near full with 128 diners during my stay there, which reinforces the relative lack of hierarchy.

This contrasts with monasteries where the Abbot has a more hierarchical position even than at IM. In the refectory of one Athonite monastery, whilst the pilgrims and monks ate soup, pasta and houmous, and drank water during the Lenten fast, the Abbot had supplemental items such as *koulouri* (a sesame-coated ring bread, rather like a bagel), olives, fruit salad and wine. In the church of another Athonite monastery, asking the blessing of the Abbot during the liturgy is compulsory: those pilgrims – or indeed ethnographers such as myself – who mistakenly or deliberately omit this are guided to the Abbot to do so. IM falls somewhere between these examples and Chilandariou.

The mobile phone mast behind IM was erected in 2007, prior to which there was no signal in IM. Vodafone first approached the Abbot in 2005 about erecting the mast. He said: 'No!'. Vodafone then identified a location on a ridge way which runs the length of the peninsula down to the Mount itself. Here the estates of the monasteries of the east and the west coast converge. They therefore approached the Abbot of the monastery on the other coast whose land borders that of IM. He also said: 'No!'. They then identified a site slightly along the ridge way, which although behind IM, is on the land of the next monastery down the coast. Its Abbot said: 'Yes'. Father Oswald, of IM, thought that perhaps this was because the mast would not serve his monastery: a peak between them and the ridge way would obscure the line-of-sight to the mast, and thus compromise the reception.

Integration: monastic formation

There are various normative expectations of someone performing the role of monk in a Basilian monastery. As well as being expected to practise obedience to the Abbot as a good son to a father, there are further expectations concerning stability of life, attendance at services, restraint in eating, uniformity of clothing and commonality of possessions.

Concerning stability of life, Father Oswald explained that a monk must have permission from the Abbot to leave IM. This is confirmed by Morison who states that becoming a monk is an irrevocable

‘intention’ of profession (Morison, 1912: 94). Basil lays down that ‘he is not to leave the community into which he has been received, except for some very good reason’ (Fus 36).

[O]nce the monastery has been entered, the monk is kept closely confined within its precincts. Egress is only possible with the express permission of the superior, and only those monks are to be allowed to leave the monastery whose character is above all suspicion. They are to travel in companies, that they may better avoid the temptations of the outer world. As they journey they are to recite the psalms and prayers prescribed by their rule. (Brev 120)

According to Saint Basil, on their return the monks are to be closely questioned by the superior as to the experiences they have met with on their travels (Fus 39, Brev 311) and, further, his own parents and relations are not to be allowed to visit him (Fus 32.1). At IM I did not hear of monks being closely questioned on their return and certainly it is possible for male relations to visit: it was through such visits that Father Oswald’s younger brothers decided to join the monastery.

In 2010 Father Alphege explained that he had been granted permission to visit the home of his widowed mother: indeed he was there during my first visit to IM in 2009. However, he had not at that point revisited the place of his birth and the first twelve years of his life, a place where he still had many family and childhood friends: Melbourne. He explained and justified his desire to visit it to me in what seemed like a rehearsal for when he had an audience with the Abbot. Eventually his wish was fulfilled: he travelled there in early 2015, returning three months prior to my final fieldwork episode in July 2015.

Permanency of residence is not bi-lateral. For:

He who fails in his obedience to the commandments of the Lord is at first to be treated by all with compassion as an ailing member, and the superior by his own exhortations will endeavour to restore him to health. But if he persist in this disobedience, and refuse

correction, he must be more severely rebuked before the whole brotherhood, and every remedy of exhortation must be applied. And if, after much reproof, he still remains obdurate, and does not amend either himself or his ways, being, in the words of the proverb, 'his own ruin,' it will be necessary, with much sorrow, to regard him as a decayed and useless limb, and to cut him off from the rest of the body. (Fus 28.1)

Such cutting-off means separation from the brethren, whether by temporary or permanent banishment from the monastery.

Whether resident in the monastery, or temporarily absent, Saint Basil writes of 'eight separate services...as being obligatory for the monk under all circumstances' (Morison, 1912: 65-66). Significantly, three of these take place during the night. At IM, one of these is held solely by monks; the others are grouped into either two or three sets of services (dependent upon the ecclesiastical season) and are open to Orthodox visitors.

Father Trumbert described a monk's life on Athos as consisting of cycles. The daily cycle commences at Vespers in the afternoon. Contained within this is the procession from the church to the refectory, and back, for lunch/dinner (there are, at most, two formal meals per day). The service is timed to end shortly before sunset, which constitutes midnight in Byzantine time. After a brief period of conversation or exercise the community retires for bed. Three hours after sunset, and four hours before the start of the morning service, the monks all meet and drink coffee together. This takes place in a special meeting room, the *Synodikon*, for the alternative venues of the refectory and the Church are not blessed for such use. Seven hours after sunset the *semantron* and bells sound in sequence, followed by knocks upon doors. These mark the commencement of various parts of the morning service. The service ends with breakfast, which varies in content with the liturgical seasonal cycle, after which the community commence their assigned tasks, which vary according to the agricultural seasonal cycle. These tasks take the community through to Vespers.

Literally, and in many respects metaphorically, the monks of IM are uniform. During the hours of darkness it can thus be difficult to distinguish the monks from each other, especially in the morning service when some of them wrap themselves up in their habit and veil and sleep – and sometimes snore. All those who have passed through their novitiate wear the same long black habit, hat and veil. There are various slight additions to this, reflecting the monastic ranks of *Rassophore*, *Stavrophore* and Schemamonk, and the priesthood, but unless closely inspected they appear the same. They also wear a beard which, in accordance with Orthodox tradition, is untrimmed and hence very long, as is their hair which is only revealed in public when they receive Holy Mysteries⁷.

This 'distinctive dress' (Morison, 1912: 116) was determined by Saint Basil. He reasons that: 'Since all the brethren have one end in view, namely, the religious life, uniformity in dress is desirable' (Fus 22.2). Frugality, too: 'The monk is not allowed to have one garb for work and another for show' (Fus 22.1). However, again Basil indicates a flexibility concerning practises when he advises that appropriate clothing is: 'That which is best and most properly answers to the needs of each, and takes into account season, locality, persons and circumstances' (Brev 210).

According to Saint Basil, 'the quantity and quality of food and clothing should be carefully regulated in accordance with ascetic principles' (Morison, 1912: 110). He states that: 'the aim of continence is best secured when we use the cheaper kinds of food, and such as are necessary to sustain life, and so avoid both the sin of gluttony and of eating for pleasure' (Fus 18). A further constraint on eating for pleasure is the time allocated to eating: 'Let there be one fixed hour for taking food, always the same in regular course, that of all the four-and-twenty hours of the day and night barely this one may be spent upon the body.' (Brev 136) Further, those foods are to be preferred which may be close at hand, and can be easily prepared (Fus 19.2). However: 'There is no one rule to

⁷ These include the sacraments of baptism, chrismation (anointing with holy oil immediately following baptism), Eucharist, penance (i.e. confession), holy unction (anointing with holy oil for healing), marriage and ordination. They are called mysteries because they have an invisible, spiritual meaning behind the visible, physical sign.

include all who practise piety.’ (Brev 128) Age, health, work, must all be considered (Fus 19). Due to this at IM a few monks would miss meals, eating their rations later, and likewise a few would miss some of the church services, especially those working in the kitchen and refectory preparing for the subsequent meal.

And, of course, lest it be forgotten, in a cenobitic (i.e. communal, as opposed to idiorhythmic) monastery, such as IM, all possessions are supposed to be shared according to the ideal outlined in the Acts of the Apostles 2:44: ‘All the believers lived together and had everything in common,’ and 4:32: ‘The group of believers had a single heart and soul and nobody called any of their possessions their own, but all things were held in common.’ As with dispensations for food, however, exceptions are made at IM. Father Illtud, for example, has a personal electronic glucose reader for his diabetes.

Adaptation: work and finance

In this section I describe the economic aspect, or adaptation function, of IM. This includes both monastic labour and the financing of the monastery. The two are closely related as the production of the monks reduces their need to consume goods from beyond the monastery, making them relatively more self-sufficient and independent. After delineating the organisation of work I focus in on the specific labour I undertook. Building on this I describe the low-tech operation of the monastery. I then consider retail and consumption, focusing specifically on the role of the Steward, who ultimately oversees all economic matters in the monastery.

Work organisation

To ensure the relative self-sufficiency of IM, monks are assigned different monastic labours: looking after guests; caring for the infirm; making candles; tending, harvesting and processing fruit and vegetables (e.g. in the winter, when I was there, the picking, pressing and pickling of olives); fishing; building maintenance; driving; wood-cutting; bread-making; cooking; serving in the refectory; serving in church; manning the ‘embassy’ of IM – and attending meetings – in the capital Karyes;

and financial administration. Certain roles are held in combination, such as serving meals and some sorting of olives; cleaning the guest quarters and some picking of olives; serving in the church as well as pressing and pickling olives and making candles. Different numbers of monks are assigned to different tasks: twelve to olive-picking, three to wood-cutting, three to cooking, two to driving and one each to most of the other tasks. Certain roles are reserved for more senior monks or priests e.g. guest master, financial administration or representing IM in Karyes.

Saint Basil discusses which occupations are most appropriate for a monk. The essential criterion was that they do not disrupt or distract 'the ordered quietude of the monastic life' (Morison, 1912: 81). Therefore, the raw materials must be easy to come by and the finished products must be easy to dispose of so as to limit the necessity for potentially destructive contact with the world outside (Fus 38). Further, the labour of the monk must be directed towards the needs of the community and the poor, not the satiation of desire for luxury goods: 'In every kind of work the same rule of simplicity, utility and cheapness must hold good' (Morison, 1912: 82). Thus weaving and shoe-making are only to be conducted as is absolutely essential whereas construction, carpentry and farming are preferred as being necessary to life. 'The idea that the monastery should "promote divine learning" is nowhere made prominent in Basil's ascetic writings' (Morison, 1912: 72). Scripture is regarded as providing a practical rule of life, and is to be obeyed rather than investigated (Brev 235).

Tasks in the kitchen, waiting at tables and other more menial duties seem to have been rotated: 'In thy turn...' (Fus 40). This is behind the Athonite practice described here at Stavronikita: 'Every year, there would be a gathering at which each monk would be assigned his daily work for the community for that year, so that each one would have the opportunity to do every task performed in the monastery' (Farasiotis, 2008: 46). The only 'fixed' roles explicitly identified by Basil are those of the Abbot (see above) and Steward (see below).

At IM some other roles, however, appear at least relatively 'fixed'. This is especially so with non-agricultural roles. Father Felix, the breadmaker, for instance, has developed arthritis through the amount of kneading required to provide sufficient bread for the meals and liturgies of IM. Having chosen to become a monk, the monks must accept spiritual direction from the Abbot, and this may also result in sacrifices for their own or the community's interest. Father Oswald, for instance, was an iconographer in Athens prior to becoming a monk. In 2009 I asked him if he had painted any icons since becoming a monk seven years ago. He replied two. I must have looked somewhat surprised at this rate of productivity. Movingly, he explained why: the Abbot had told him that he would be able to paint icons, but only after many years, the reason being that the other monks might be impressed, and their adoration might lead Father Oswald 'to grow a big head'. His assigned role is that of Ecclesiarch, responsible for the upkeep and functioning of the Church and its services, which includes care of the monastery's icons and relics. The many years had elapsed by the time of my final fieldwork episode in 2015 and this is explored further in section 7.4. To ensure a harmonious community, and its continuation through the effective formation of each new vocation, the Abbot has to be particularly wise to the sins of pride and jealousy. The monks in turn have to accept his decisions, even if this means postponement or suppression of what they might consider God-given gifts.

This reflects the writings of Saint Basil who states that even when a monk is highly-skilled in a particular craft he will not necessarily practise it; it is more important that the monk accept his allotted task, thus practising obedience (Fus 41; Brev 123, 142). Likewise:

If a man who has acquired some distinction in the outside world and desires to be admitted to the monastery, he is to be given the most menial tasks, in order that he may give full proof of his humility. (Fus 10)

This differs quite considerably from rules which precede – and proceed from – it, which were based on the division of labour. Preceding the rule of Saint Basil were communities founded on the rule

of Saint Pachomius. These consisted of numerous houses each allocated to a different trade: it 'was thus a kind of labour colony in which every variety of work was carried on' (Morison, 1912: 83). Morison attributes the 'tendency to turbulence' (1912: 83) of such communities, at least in part, to 'their busy industrial life' (1912: 83). Kieser comments on proceeding medieval Benedictine monasteries:

Ascetic work ethics and rational design of work roles made the medieval monasteries the most efficient production organizations of that time. They accumulated immeasurable wealth which trapped those monks who strove for the monastic ideal of an ascetic life led in poverty, and brought about severe conflicts. Thus the medieval monastery became the first bureaucratic 'iron cage'. (Kieser, 1987: 104)

Ultimately in a Basilian monastery work is important for the survival of the community: 'As then each of us requires his daily sustenance, so also he must work according to his strength' (Fus 37.2). Indeed, 'by our Lord's own command it is right and fitting to take thought for the wants of our neighbour, and so to work with greater diligence' (Brev 207). Prayer and devotion are not seen as alternatives to work: 'For while our hands are engaged in work, we may with our voices, if it be possible...sing praises to God' (Fus 37.2). I encountered this whilst working in the olive groves.

Picking olives

I pictured picking olives in the Greek countryside to be quite a pleasant monastic labour. It was certainly a common one in December with twelve monks allocated to it. My picture was some way from the truth of scrambling around on my hands and knees, digging out the olives from the manure on the ground under the tree with my fingers and then sorting out the very mouldy and crushed from the rest. I was informed after a rather unproductive start that these were for making olive oil: I had been only picking those that looked as good as we got on the table at every meal. It was a real pleasure to hear on one day that the thunder and lightning, heavy rain and high winds,

meant that the olive-picking was postponed. Of course it didn't make for a day without labour, but scrubbing olive-, mud- and manure- stained clothes seemed a comparatively leisurely pastime.

Later in the week Kevin, a guest worker, and I were transferred – promoted, it felt like – down to the lower olive grove. Here there are beautiful stepped terraces on the way to the port with wonderful views across to the neighbouring peninsula and along to the port of the neighbouring monastery. There is also a pleasant, artificial water pool from which water is taken to water the grove in the summer months. It certainly felt considerably warmer and sunnier in this spot where the eating olives are grown, picked and then sorted, the last by monks too old to do the former (one, indeed, was 106 years old). The monks from the various terraces gather at around 1pm when leftovers from breakfast are transported down from IM by truck and served, together with some nuts, cereal and Turkish delight. One of the older monks also distributes moonshine cognac. It felt like an idyllic pastoral scene from ages past.

It made me wonder if these were more farmers masquerading as monks rather than monks masquerading as farmers. However, all the monks I spoke to came from an urban background. Most of the monks were students prior to joining IM, such as Egbert in physics and Father Felix in biochemistry; others had made some headway in other vocations, such as Father Oswald as an iconographer and Father Alban as a teacher of mathematics. Some were not new to physical effort: Edmund was a karate instructor and Edward a professional footballer.

The relative joy of the monks in the olive groves is a consequence of their belief in the effects of such effort. Father Teilo described the physical labour of olive-picking as spiritual healing. This helps explain why the monks are reluctant to use the electric olive harvester in IM's possession. Further, many monks pray during their labour: on many occasions I heard monks chanting, at

various volumes, '*Kyrie, kyrie, kyrie eleison*'⁸. Although the olive season lasts only a couple of months, across the year the monks must also harvest grapes, apples, melon and watermelon.

The pruning of the 'premier' olive groves in February was surprisingly more automated than their picking. In addition, the team was smaller than before: the older monks who had sorted olives had now been re-assigned to other duties. We took two chainsaws, each with a spare can of fuel, down in the truck with us. In my group Father Cuthbert wielded the saw with relish. Once cut it was my job to drag away the branches and sort them: large or tall trunks were kept back for paring down; the rest – small, leaved, branches – thrown down below. Once the former had been pared down by a scythe, the trunks were again separated: one pile for trunks that were tall, thin and straight; another for thicker trunks; the small off-cut branches thrown down below. Each pile would then be thrown in the back of the truck, and in separate trips driven by the tractor to their destination. The pile of small, leaved, branches required jumping up and down on to compress them so as to make each tractor trip as efficient as possible. This was what we did throughout each day (except for Sundays), the interesting variation being when we worked on the steep olive groves and the piles had to be thrown down, terrace-by-terrace, until they could be reached on the bottom terrace by truck. Ultimately: the tall, thin and straight trunks would be used as poles for olive beating or with attachments as forks and brooms; the thick trunks would be used as firewood for heating IM; the olive branches would be deposited on the shoreline to protect the lower olive groves from the salt of the sea.

Low-tech life

The above ethnographic fragment suggests that the monastic life at IM is not without technology, but rather is low-tech. They seemed to adopt technology where it automated a discrete function they already undertook e.g. a chainsaw to cut branches in place of a manual saw, a truck to

⁸ Lord, have mercy in Greek.

transport them in place of a mule. This impression was confirmed as I explored more of IM's operation.

The use of trucks on Mount Athos is now so commonplace it even issues its own number plates. Featuring the European Union flag and 'GR' on the left there follows 'AO' for *Agion Oros*, the Holy Mountain in Greek. Then the number of the vehicle belonging to the monastery, issued in sequence of purchase. Last is the number of the monastery in the Athonite 'hierarchy': so 02 for Vatopedi. IM's vehicle numbers run in single figures. Most monasteries have many more vehicles by this measure e.g. Vatopedi has at least 79.

Father Govan, a monk at a skete where there are no trucks or cars, spoke of one of his two mules: 'He's young, and gets nervous if you don't give him work to do, like a person!' This seemed similar to how Father Oswald spoke of the generators at IM. They have bought a new one as the original is very noisy: the new one comes in a relatively soundproofed box. What they do – a legacy of when mules lived in the neighbouring outbuilding? – is alternate between the two, so that each is rested for one day out of two. They also have a third generator, a gift from the national power company of Greece. This is used during the morning service when the only electricity required is for the kitchen. These are not the only generators in what I was originally told was a monastery without electricity. One evening, from my dormitory's window, I noticed a second cable from the phone box. Ah-ha I thought: electricity! When I had a free moment, after the veneration of relics, and just before darkness fell (and with that the front gate being barred) I followed the second cable further up the hill to discover that it ends in a solar-powered electricity generator. This one is provided, and maintained, by OTE, the operator of the phone box.

Any environmental concern is limited to generation rather than disposal: there is a rather extensive rubbish dump on the other side of IM. Further, the 'natural' heating source used is not without environmental implications in its manipulation and consumption. Deforestation of the mountain is considered a problem (Speake, 2002) and has implications for the environment elsewhere. The

wood is transported to IM by truck and then chopped into heater-sized portions by an electric saw in a monastic outbuilding, powered by a diesel-electric generator in another outbuilding. Three monks are required for this task in the winter months to ensure sufficient supply. In July, after the harvests, guest workers were also assigned this task so as to stockpile as much as could be stored in readiness for the next winter. There is no hot water to be found in IM, whether from taps or from radiators. Most rooms have a wood-burning heater in the winter, nothing else. The ash joins the rubbish at the bottom of a gulley; the smoke rises up through one of the many chimneys that haphazardly adorn the roof of IM. The Greek pilgrims seem to enjoy starting and stoking the fire, for as one told me, 'it makes my national service seem worthwhile'. The scraping sound necessitated by stoking the fire during services in the church, which sits in the middle of the nave was not quite so pleasant. A rather more graceful consequence of the lack of electricity in the church was the hoisting and lowering of the candelabra to enable them to be lit and extinguished at appropriate moments. Elsewhere, light in the hours of darkness is provided by oil lamp.

Their collective adoption of 'old' large-scale technologies is sporadic, but considered. For instance, in the kitchen they do have electricity, thanks to the diesel-electric generator (which also powers the wood saw), which powers one oven; they also have a gas stove. Where they can, the three monks assigned to the kitchen strive to use the wood-fired range, though, especially for traditional foodstuffs, such as bread. This forms a staple part of their diet and also has spiritual significance: in blessed form as *antidoron* to be taken after a morning service, and as *panagia* to be taken after the collective lunch on a Sunday; in consecrated form as the Body of Christ. There is some personal discretion when it comes to the possession of small-scale technologies. Father Illtud, for instance, has an electronic blood glucose monitor, as mentioned in the previous integration sub-section; Edward has a battery-powered headlamp for nocturnal wanderings and a gas canister-powered Greek coffee maker for mornings.

Retail and consumption

In a Basilian monastery if production exceeds the needs of the community, hospitality and charity then the surplus may be sold, however:

In the coenobitic life...the individual member was relieved from this responsibility, inasmuch as certain persons were officially appointed for the purpose. Basil is very careful that all commerce shall be under proper supervision. (Morison, 1912: 84)

Saint Basil describes in some detail how produce or products should be sold within the monastic precinct if possible; if not, how the monks should travel in a group, wearing their monastic dress to aid their focus on prayer and devotion, travelling if possible to places where they may also assist others in the faith (Fus 39).

The supply and distribution of food was presided over by an official specially appointed for this purpose (Morison, 1912: 115). The Abbot was 'the ultimate source of authority' (Morison, 1912: 115) but in this area powers were delegated to the steward (Brev 147). This was an important role for 'he was responsible, not only for the physical comfort, but also for the temporal prosperity of the community' (Morison, 1912: 115). Such a role does not rotate amongst the monks, unlike tasks of lesser import (Brev 156). This differentiation between financial responsibility and over-arching spiritual authority pre-dates Saint Basil: Saint Pachomius (286-346) founded a desert monastic community in Egypt in 315 which also featured 'alongside the abbot', a monk 'who dealt with all economic matters – supplies of food and raw materials, distribution and sale of necessities and products' (Knowles, 1966: 4). This is reflected at IM, with Father Neot, one of the three priests (with the Abbot and Father Alban) serving as the steward.

In terms of consumption, IM may not reject products with barcodes – unlike Esphigmenou where they do out of fear that they may contain three '6's, the mark of the Devil – but they do seem to have a very definite concern about provenance, both of the people and products that penetrate their walls. Some of my fellow travellers brought fish with them – we arrived on a Saturday and on

Sundays during the Nativity fast it is permissible to eat fish in monasteries. Dunstan, the driver of the van, opened up the crate to inspect the fish, asking what type of fish they were and where they were from. They explained that they were sea bass and one of the men explained that he knew the fisherman from Nea Moudania. Brother Aaron later told me that to know the provenance, the supply chain, of what you consume brings you closer to it: it is a less alienated form of consumption. I wondered what he would make of a computer assembled from thousands of components, mostly made in China. I have seen a similar concern at a monastery in Surrey in the UK which leads them to order an organic food box each week. In IM, with more, and slightly younger monks, and a better climate, their need to import vegetables is reduced. Later in my stay I helped to unload the delivery from 'the mainland'. Every other week one of the monks drives the monastic truck there to purchase all the things they cannot produce or catch themselves: lemons, garlic, milk, sardines, toilet paper and, probably with less concern for their provenance, diesel and paraffin.

This less alienated form of consumption mirrors the less alienated form of production. IM (and a few other monasteries on Mount Athos) neither sell items 'within the monastic precinct' – to use the phrase of Saint Basil – or beyond it. The Abbot does not want the monks to be in a position where they are given money and give change: it turns them into moneychangers, something Jesus Christ himself opposed. Labour is oriented towards self-sufficiency – as opposed to retail – and expenditure is self-constrained. Most Athonite monasteries have very pleasant, well-stocked shops, with handmade prayer ropes and icons, but they need such to pay for the granite floors and fine porcelain sinks in their guesthouses (and possibly elsewhere). The monks of IM see themselves as offering the opportunity of spiritual renewal and transformation to pilgrims not providing a cultural diversion to tourists. The loyalty of some of these pilgrims results in an exchange of gifts which renders the exchange of money less necessary. Two pilgrims I spoke with visit IM once per year for several days. They both work in a commercial laundry in Thessaloniki and every year IM sends their blankets there to be cleaned.

Cost is not a determination of what will or will not be consumed. As Father Alphege described with respect to his jigsaws of ships – and which also applied to ‘his’ laptop and mobile phone – it is the Abbot who gives his blessing or not as to whether an artefact requested by a monk will be acquired. Father Neot then decides how it will be acquired i.e. will it be added to the weekly shopping list for the ‘mainland’ run or, to use Father Alphege’s words, will it be ‘made known to our friends’ [of the monastery i.e. regular pilgrims/spiritual sons] that we would like it, and they bring it on their next visit or post it. The Abbot of another monastery I visited concluded, after thirty years in the role, that ‘a well-run Orthodox monastery will be on the brink of bankruptcy’. Having said this, regular weekly purchases are funded by income from the block of downtown Thessaloniki, beside the shoreline, which the monastery owns. According to Finbar, this generated annual rental revenue of approximately €130,000 in 2008 (quite possibly significantly less by the time of my final fieldwork episode in 2015 due to the declining economic situation).

Goal-attainment: the Council of Elders

The Abbot is not the sole source of authority or decision making. Dunstan identified the four members of the Council of Elders: Father Alban, Father Neot, Father Credan and Father Ninian as being ‘responsible for the younger monks’. It seems that the Abbot takes day-to-day decisions of significance; and sets the very long term course of IM. The Council, collectively, takes decisions concerning the medium to long term. Individual members of the council take day-to-day decisions of lesser significance in their own spheres of responsibility, for instance, Father Neot concerning what to order from ‘the mainland’ in the next delivery and Father Credan concerning which way to vote in a matter at the Holy *Epistasia* in Karyes. In addition, all monks are members of the *Synodikon*. This is both the name of a room and a meeting of the monastery, at which the monastic community congregate each night. The Abbot sometimes addresses them, but often not. In this forum information is communicated, decisions are announced – or made – and elections take place.

However, it is important that this not be overplayed, for Saint Basil does state that in the absence of the superior a second-in-command is to be chosen 'lest a democratic state of things prevail in the brotherhood' (Fus 45.1). Further, in response to my questions concerning this decision-making structure Father Alphege felt it important to state: 'It's not a democracy'. Whilst he did not wish to elaborate then, I interpreted this to mean that the decisions made by the Council and *Synodikon* rarely differ from those which the Abbot would have made, an interpretation he confirmed on my next visit. This is significant because it suggests that the goal-attainment function is not as differentiated from the other three functions as the collegial decision-making structure of the monastery would suggest.

Differentiation and dominance

Whilst the adaptation function might clearly be ascribed to the Steward i.e. Father Neot, the other three functions would seem to be, at least in part, the remit of the Abbot. Others are involved: the Council of Elders in goal-attainment and integration; the other priests, Father Alban and Father Neot in latent pattern maintenance. However, there is not a clear demarcation of these subsystems. This is shaped by, and shapes, the relative lack of specialised roles in the organisation (Spratt, 1963; Fox et al., 2005).

This might help to explain the lack of technological development in IM, for '[i]n Parsons' view the industrial revolution could not have come about unless there had been a differentiation between the polity and religion' (Spratt, 1963: 151). The absence of differentiation between these functions may also impede certain other developments, for instance, in 'Arab countries' where 'religion and law are but ill-differentiated, changes in the direction of Westernization run into difficulties' (Spratt, 1963: 152). Of course, in the eyes of the Abbot and most of the monks, such a hindrance is to be welcomed for they had little desire to be Westernized any more than they are already.

Further, if here 'the differentiated parts' are 'unbalanced' with 'the logic of one subsystem peripheralizes that of another' (Mouzelis, 1999) it is not the logic of adaptation peripheralizing that

of latency. Rather, it could be said that the latent pattern maintenance system is not only the sole clearly differentiated function but is also the dominant function. To use terms from Habermas (1987), whose lifeworld concept assumes the 'integration' and 'latency' functions of Parsons (Crossley, 2005) and whose system concept assumes the economy and polity functions, here the lifeworld, if anything, may dominate the system. It is religion which is used to justify the lack of a shop in IM ('L' dominant over 'A'); religion which sets out which goals are to be attained e.g. salvation and how i.e. repentance ('L' dominant over 'G'); it is religion which inspires Canon Law, the 'rule' of Saint Basil and the dominant practices of IM ('L' dominant over 'I'). This is certainly not inappropriate, for as Mouzelis says of a comparable case:

[I]n so far as those who teach and do research in sociology constitute a relatively autonomous academic community, the logic proper to this community (which Parsons called cognitive rationality) should prevail over neighbouring, competing types of logic, such as that of the market place, of the political party, the church or social movement, etc. (Mouzelis, 1997)

The existing dominance of 'L' does not mean it will necessarily continue as such. On their boundaries the subsystems – or, at least, in this situation 'L' on the one hand, and 'A', 'G' and 'I' – are in contact and may impact upon each other. An example presented by Sprott is that increasing productivity by replacing workers with machines disturbs 'the social relationships between employers and employees' (Sprott, 1963: 148). Here the adaptation and integration subsystems are in contact. In IM, it could be that the adoption of people carriers to take monks to and from the olive groves has affected the relationship between the monk and God (via communing with nature): this is certainly the view of Brother Aidan. In this case there would be contact between adaptation and latent pattern maintenance.

Parsons provides for change (Parsons and Smelser, 1956) both within social structures and to social structures. For instance, continual change takes place within social structures as new people take

on (old) roles whereas changes to social structures may occur due to internal or exogenous reasons. An example of the latter might, for instance, be demographic changes. The changes in technology at IM – which thus far would seem to be within the existing social structures – may well be caused by the reception of novices – in recent times an unusually large number – from outside the mountain, who bring to the role of monk ideas and practices shaped by contemporary Greece.

Despite such changes it cannot yet be said that adaptation, ‘having become more autonomous...can be seen as itself out of control, distant from other spheres of action, and no longer oriented to the problems that are meaningful to solve in the first place... [adaptation] may be perceived as producing more problems than it solves, becoming controlled by its own products, and creating uncertainty’ (Lechner, 1985: 162). However, even the limited introduction of further ICT into IM, in the interests of adaptation, may impact upon integration and/or latent pattern maintenance (as Duncan, 1964: observed).

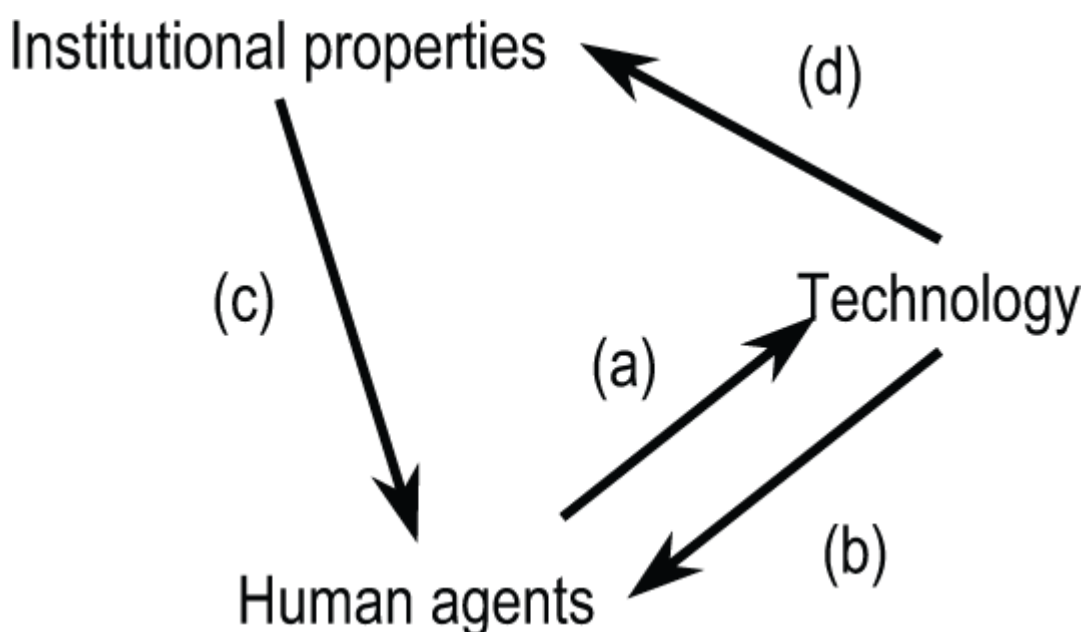
Freedom from being told what to do seems to influence the decision of IM to reject EU grants. Father Illtud said: ‘If we take their money, they can tell us what to do’. Not to take it is to maintain control and discretion over the internal way of life of IM, to maintain the the separation of latent pattern maintenance from adaptation. Not only would funds be allocated for a specific purpose, they would require monitoring, accounting for, generating a bureaucratic system in support of it. Further the specific purpose of gentrification, within the medium-term time constraints of a project, would require the employment of outside labourers. As well as necessitating contracts and payment, they would also need to be managed and to have somewhere to live. Being there for reasons more material than spiritual it is unlikely that they would attend monastic services and communal meals as all – but for the occasional non-Orthodox visitor – do at the moment. Furthermore, such labourers are unlikely – based upon what I have seen at other monasteries – to speak much Greek, even if they are Orthodox – for they are likely to be from Albania or Bulgaria. Thus, a freedom from being told what to do, through a unity of purpose, might be lost.

One might also relate the resistance to outside-funding for physical restoration to the resistance towards technological innovation. Edward reasoned that the rejection of the EU-grant made IM poor and therefore constrained their adoption of such technology. However, the situation is somewhat more complex. First, some of the technological upgrading is outside-funded (e.g. the WiMAX network) and is therefore unrelated to the wealth of IM. Second, according to the Abbot the causation is as much in the other direction: the decision to live a traditional way of life, without abundant technologies, means they have less need for EU grants. The lack of dominance of the financial/administrative function, performed in effect part-time by several monks (Father Neot in terms of procurement, Father Teilo in terms of pilgrims, the Abbot and the representative of IM in Karyes, Father Credan, in terms of the functioning of the Holy Community), makes resistance to technology possible. The requirements in terms of documentation for EU projects and employment in the EU are predicated upon the existence of information systems. As it is, with an emphasis on self-sufficiency and with that hard manual labour, even if IM adopted WiMAX they might not have time to use it; but if they went down the path of commercialisation and EU-funded gentrification, they might need it. Thus resistance to ICTs can be predicated upon resistance to other institutional trends. Third, there seems to be little desire for such technologies. In contrast to communities elsewhere which have not been 'e-nabled', this community is all male and therefore cannot reproduce itself; each new monastic generation is choosing afresh. And the new generation of monks in IM chose it because it didn't have electricity (Egbert) or because it was quiet (Father Oswald).

5.4 t',a',i' applied at micro-level

In this section I apply Mouzelis' technological, appropriative and ideological spheres in place of the AGIL schema at the micro-level of analysis. My findings are then related back to whether these three spheres are indeed more appropriate for micro-level analysis than Parsons' AGIL schema.

I identified in section 3.3 that for ICTs this could be achieved via applying the extant structural model of technology (Orlikowski, 1992), a model I explored in detail in section 2.3. The model consists of three broadly-defined elements which shape, or structure, interactions with technology within institutions. Human agents can be designers, decision-makers or users of technology. Technologies are ‘material artefacts mediating task execution in the workplace’ (Orlikowski, 1992: 409). Institutional properties can encompass everything from hierarchy and division of labour to ideology and culture. The three elements influence each other in particular ways, as shown via the arrows and their accompanying key in figure 5.3.



Arrow	Type of Influence
(a)	Technology as a product of human action
(b)	Technology as a medium of human action
(c)	Institutional conditions of interaction with technology
(d)	Institutional consequences of interaction with technology

Figure 5.3 The structural model of technology (reproduction of Orlikowski, 1992: 410)

With respect to technology as a product of human action (arrow a), ICT adoption at IM is indeed a result of human agency. It was the Holy Community, the decision-making body of the Holy Mountain on which all of the twenty monasteries' representatives serve, that determined to

develop an ICT system which would link the main Pilgrims' Office in Thessaloniki to the twenty monasteries. This resulted in IM's first ICT, a desktop, as will be recounted in section 7.2. Father Alphege, the electrician monk, enabled this by providing the infrastructure – e.g. electricity – and the technical skills required. Further, it was his persuasion of the Abbot, as is recounted in section 7.4, which resulted in the monastery's adoption of further ICTs, beginning with 'his' laptop and basic mobile phone in 2010.

With respect to technology as a medium of human action (arrow b), the monks of my group interview over lunch in the olive groves in 2009 considered that God-given human creativity goes into new technologies, even whilst they rejected certain of them. Behind and above IM there is a mobile phone mast belonging to Vodafone. My Greek network was Cosmote, not Vodafone, so I remained undisturbed whilst in the monastery. This was not a conscious choice, rather the result of one I made whilst studying at Aristotle University. Without a charging socket, at least in the pilgrims' quarters, it was not a choice worth changing in view of the lengthy duration of my stays at IM. The monks, whilst not having mobile phones themselves then, recognised their utility, especially for pilgrims with families at home. They also were familiar enough with such technology to use it. On St. Nicholas' Day, Kevin, Father Teilo and I took a walk up the mountain to the south-east of IM. From there we had spectacular views all around: south to Mount Athos itself; east to the island of Thasos; west to the Sithonia peninsula; north up the peninsula to the preceding ports. Kevin was experienced enough to know that up here one might have Cosmote reception, and he and Father Teilo were able to use my phone without need for instruction to call various Nicholas's on their name day.

With respect to the institutional conditions of interaction with technology (arrow c), the Abbot, with his ultimate influence over the functions of integration, goal-attainment, latent pattern maintenance and even adaptation, represents significant institutional conditions of interaction with technology. No technology can be adopted in the monastery without his knowing, if not

blessing, and through positional and dispositional power the use of technology is controlled. This plays out in various figurations featuring the Abbot explored in chapter 7.

With respect to the institutional consequences of interaction with technology (arrow d), the institutional structures are being transformed, albeit slowly. As in 2010 the sole mobile phone was in Father Alphege's possession, he increasingly became the conduit through which the priests of the monastery, especially the Abbot, when resident at the dependent convent in Thessaloniki, could communicate with the monastery. This, together with the provision of electricity within his cell, also made Father Alphege's a common stopping point for regular visitors to the monastery. This raised the power and significance of the role of electrician to that of members of the Council, creating the potential for change, as explored in section 7.4.

Mouzelis believes that one cannot keep dividing by the AGIL schema at lower levels of analysis, for the division will no longer reflect collectives or groups of actors (Mouzelis, 1995). He proposes a re-working at lower levels in terms of technological, appropriative and ideological spheres. Although the detail of applying this approach necessitates going beyond the positional dimension into the dispositional and figural, it does, especially through Orlikowski's structural model of technology (Orlikowski, 1992), seem to be especially apposite for the study of ICT adoption where it exists in the monastery.

5.5 Summary and conclusions

In this chapter I address my second subsidiary question. I do this through dialogue between my ethnographic data, gathered as described in chapter 4, and the relevant extant work of Mouzelis, Parsons and Orlikowski explored in detail in chapters 2 and 3. I began in section 5.2 by considering the position of IM *vis-à-vis* macro-level institutions outside the Holy Mountain and other meso-level organisations within it, via application of Parsons' AGIL schema. This section also related this to engagement with – or resistance towards – ICTs. The next section, 5.3, drilled down to meso- and micro-levels by expanding the latent pattern maintenance box of section 5.2 to explore

relations within it in more detail. The particular focus was IM, both in terms of its internal functions and its relations to the adaption, goal-attainment and integration functions of the Holy Community as a whole. The normative role expectations within IM of the Abbot, Council of Elders and other monks were explored through these functions. As with the prior section, this section also related the schema at these levels to engagement with – or resistance towards – ICTs. The section concluded by considering the extent to which there is differentiation between the functions of IM, and also the extent to which any one function dominates the others. Following this section 5.4 applied Mouzelis' technological, appropriative and ideological spheres in place of the AGIL schema at the micro-level of analysis. As identified in chapter 3, this means, for ICTs, applying the extant model of the duality of technology (Orlikowski, 1992). The findings were related back to whether these three spheres are indeed more appropriate for micro-level analysis than Parsons' AGIL schema, concurring with Mouzelis that they are, although the detail of their application tends towards the figurational rather than the positional dimension.

The macro-level is relatively weak, with the Holy Community ignored, whether through explicit rejection of its decision – e.g. with respect to the exhibition of icons in Paris – or through by-passing it via direct connections to institutions outside the Mountain. At the same time the micro-level is relatively weak. Despite elections for the Abbot, and the collective decision-making bodies of the Council and *Synodikon*, the monastery is not a democracy. In fact, these collective entities may make it even harder for an individual monk to resist the collective. Having said this, the dominance of the meso-level is being challenged. The alliance between OTE and the Holy Community to offer WiMAX, together with the increasing importance of the technological sphere within the monastery, creates a two-pronged challenge to meso-level power (see figure 5.4). How this two-pronged challenge plays out more recently is explored in detail in chapter 7 where the focus is the figurational dimension of social practice.

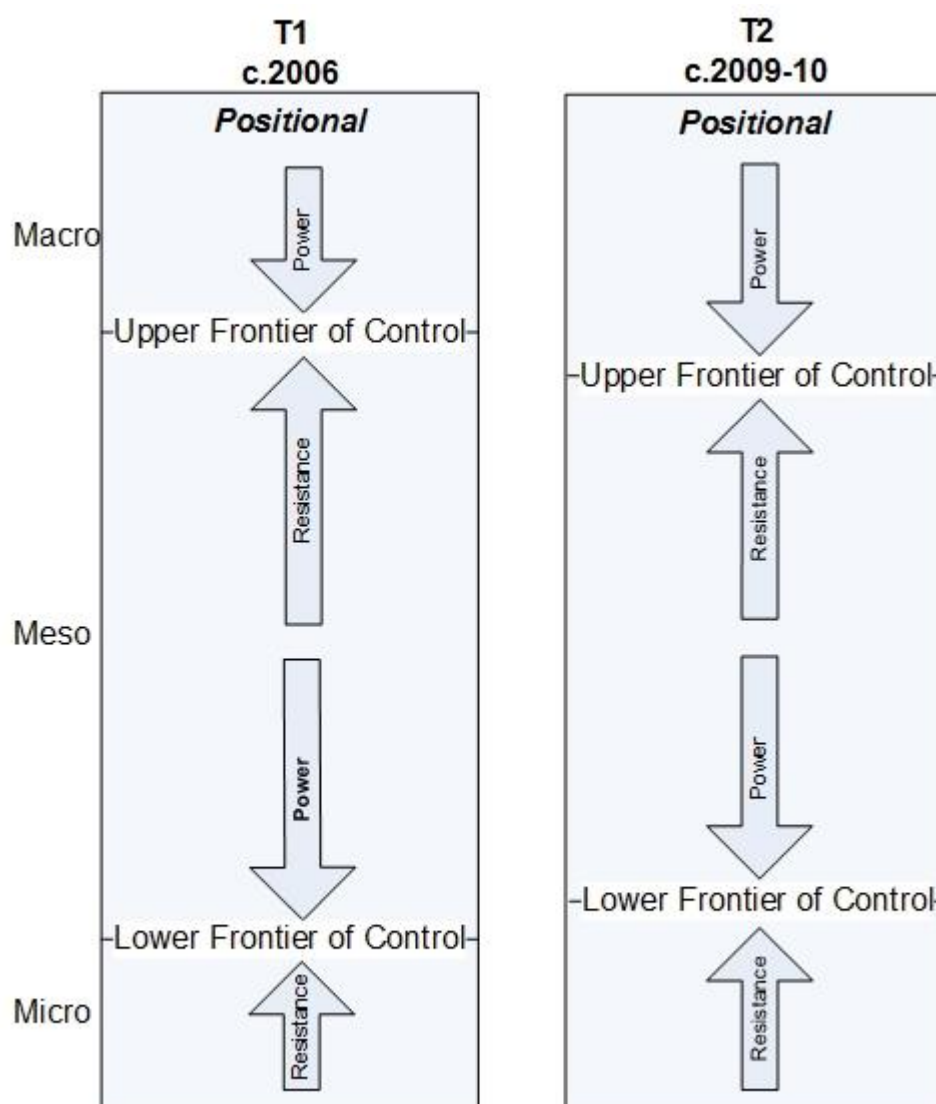


Figure 5.4 The changing positional frontiers of control at IM

It is also worth noting that in terms of the positional, IM is virtually the same as every other Athonite monastery, for the Holy Community have rules and regulations concerning the internal and external governance of each monastery (and indeed the other types of community to be found on the mountain). As well as such rules and regulations the monks of IM have internalised traits from their formation as monks, and their upbringing prior to becoming monks, which guide, constrain or provoke the way they act. This is the dispositional dimension of social practice, the focus of the next chapter.

Chapter 6

The Dispositional Dimension of an Athonite Monastery

Men make their own history, but they do not make it just as they please; they do not make it under circumstances chosen by themselves, but under circumstances directly encountered, given and transmitted from the past.

(Marx and Engels, [1852] 1979: 103)

6.1 Introduction

Building upon my consideration of the positional dimension of social practice in IM in chapter 5, in this chapter I consider its dispositional dimension. This serves to answer my third subsidiary question (SQ3): how do the field and *doxa* of the organisation and the *habitus* and capitals of the individuals within it impact on, or relate to, resistance to ICTs? I begin in section 6.2 by describing the general monastic *habitus* of IM by focusing on key events in the vocation of a monk – their arrival, formation and repose – and significant shapers of their day-to-day existence – the fasts and feasts of the liturgical calendar. For monks are not just regulated, as in the positional dimension, but informed and constructed too. These events and shapers, persistent and consistent over the millennium of Mount Athos as a monastic territory, are not themselves related to resistance to ICTs. But like the ‘circumstances directly encountered, given and transmitted from the past’ of Marx and Engels ([1852] 1979: 103) above, they are so significant in informing and constructing the monks, on top of the regulating of monks in the positional dimension, that they deserve such focus.

In the next section, 6.3, I explore the quantity and distribution of capitals which the *habitus* largely reproduces. These capitals constitute the organisational subfield of IM which itself comprises part of the Orthodox monastic field: this I consider in section 6.4. Religious capital shapes the monks’ interpretations of ICTs, which I then explore in section 6.5. Finally, in section 6.6, I draw conclusions about the dispositional dimension of IM and relate the findings back to the disagreement of

Mouzelis with Bourdieu, in section 3.4, over the possibility of intra-*habitus* contradictions (recognised by Mouzelis but not Bourdieu). I concur with Mouzelis that they can exist, after all the monks' patterns of perception and appreciation are shaped by their socialisation both before as well as after their initiation into the monastery. I also concur that there is friction or conflict between positions and dispositions which may play out in a particular figuration (as explored in chapter 7).

6.2 The monastic *habitus* of IM

In this section I explore the general monastic *habitus* found at IM. I begin by describing how monks arrive, are formed and pass on. I also describe the fasts and feasts that shape monastic existence together with relations between monasteries both within and without the Holy Mountain. It is not intended as a self-standing complete description, but one which complements and extends those of chapter 4 (from a research practice perspective) and chapter 5 (from a positional perspective) with consideration of additional, dispositional, characteristics.

Arrival

Section 5.2 has already mentioned how some postulants came to the monastery through recommendation or relatives. Rather like academia where the loyalty and primary relation of academics is towards their epistemic community rather than their employing organisation, so with these monks. Or, to use another, related, analogy, some monks have been drawn to the specific ethos of the institution, just as an applicant might choose a particular Oxford college because of its relatively more socialist (e.g. Wadham) or Anglo-Catholic (e.g. Keble) ethos; in this case, it is sometimes IM because of its relatively more rustic nature (e.g. Father Egbert). Many, however, will arrive in the monastery through recommendation or acquaintance via their social network, just as an applicant will likely apply to a particular Oxford college because of a teacher who had studied there, or a student who had visited. Their desire is to be a monk, and to be a monk on Mount Athos just as the applicant's desire is to be a student, and a student at the University of Oxford.

Formation

Blessed Elder Gabriel Dionysiatis, the late Abbot of Dionysiou monastery stated that:

To become a monk here, one has to be a novice from one to three years. During this period, one must conform absolutely to all rules of the monastery, following its program, attending regularly the church services, partaking of the same food as the others and nothing beyond this, and obeying strictly his superiors. (cited in Cavarinos, 1999: 47)

In IM I did not hear, or observe, such an approach to the relations between the meso- and micro-levels. Obedience was spoken of, but not as an external requirement imposed on the individual but rather as an expression of a true, internal, desire. The Abbot, referring to Elder David, spoke of how through hesychasm, the practice of mental stillness, inner spiritual concentration and unceasing prayer, one approaches a state of 'true love of God'. This enables us to see, for instance, the needs of the others for whom we pray. Obedience is crucial for the working of a cenobitic monastery, but in doing the will of others we also express our love for them. This, of course, is far from easy, but the shedding of blood which it entails is a step towards salvation. I could not help thinking literally, as he said this, of my cuts from the olive groves!

Novices – and those considering to become such – are allocated to work in small groups with a senior monk of the monastery. As they work, the senior monk instructs his 'pupils' and they ask him questions. In oral form, it is similar to the written dialogues which have, until recently, been the primary written means of conveying Orthodox theology (e.g. Cleopa and Heers, 2002). Topics I heard varied from issues such as the frequency of confession, historical matters such as the lives of the saints and training concerns such as the pronunciation of certain words in the liturgy – Athonite liturgy is in Byzantine rather than modern Greek – and how to chant them. In this way, the monastery forms its monks in a similar fashion to the *kalyvi*, cell, where the spiritual grandfather – i.e. the Spiritual Father (guide and confessor) of the Spiritual Father – of the Abbot, Elder David, resided.

The effectiveness of such oral instruction became apparent to me on my first evening at the monastery. Father Brendan, who had seen me waiting earlier to be allocated a bed, invited me to join him. He asked me to read – for due to his failing sight he could not – various signs, and articles in the leaflets, around us. He also asked me about my life outside. Literally and metaphorically I became his eyes to the world. As he spoke he recited teachings and stories, prayers and scriptural verses. He clearly had learnt – and now lives – an oral tradition.

The different emphasis here is reflected in the guest library consisting mostly of books left by previous guests (often in fact by the authors or publishers themselves as can be discerned from their inscriptions). Not only is it here a cupboard, whilst at another monastery I visited a whole room, here it is locked and the possessor of the key is unclear, whilst there it is always open, even when the *archontariki*⁹ is shut. In addition, there is no librarian amongst the monks: a role which has traditionally been part of Athonite monastic organisations.

This oral initiation into the collective memory of the monastery trumps formal education which is not considered important in the formation of a monk. As Father Teilo pointed out to me: ‘Elder David had only been educated for two years’. Formal education is not considered important in the formation of a monk. Indeed, Brother Egbert, who has completed his novitiate between my fieldwork visits, was not encouraged to complete his degree at Aristotle University in Thessaloniki before becoming a monk: this contrasts with the practice I have been told of elsewhere on the Mountain.

In the past, IM has produced great scholars such as the bibliophile Elder Declan (citation available but not provided as would comprise the monastery’s anonymity); now there is little emphasis on scholarship as such. However, the oral tradition in the monastery serves the same ends as such scholarship for the Orthodox monastic conception of a scholar is one who writes about the

⁹ The guest house of an Athonite monastery, where refreshments are provided for day pilgrims and accommodation for overnight pilgrims.

Orthodox faith (Cavarnos, 1973) and, as Father Govan said, 'enthuses the reader to embrace the fullness of true Orthodoxy and to walk the Royal Path of Orthodoxy towards their salvation'. With the increased number of pilgrims to the Holy Mountain this is now as possible through conversation with passers-by as via publication of tracts.

Repose

The monks are formed into the tradition of the monastery. Finbar showed me a chapel amongst the outbuildings, beside a small cemetery of three graves. He informed me that three years after death the bones of the monk are dug up and washed with wine. The skull is inscribed with the name of the monk and a cross and placed with the others in a room underneath this out-chapel. The other bones are buried in a communal grave. Current monks visit the 'House of Bones' (see figure 6.1) or the 'House of Mirrors' – to transliterate from the Greek – to be confronted with their own death, to see their own reflection in thirty years' time: seeing such ends is supposed to provoke new beginnings in their life. They also visit to see their place in the continuance of the monastery over the millennia. As Finbar said: 'Together, these bones are the building blocks of the monastery. What holds them [the bones] together is the cement of memory'. This memory is maintained through the oral tradition, as described in the subsection 'formation' above.



Figure 6.1 The house of mirrors at an Athonite monastery

The majority of the monks in the monastery are under forty years of age and thus far off death. Indeed, considerably far off for it is common for monastics to live to a grand age: the oldest monk I interviewed was 106 years old. However, between their initial birth and eventual death their everyday life consists of minor deaths and births. For instance, at its most basic, in the words of Father Alban, ‘awaking each morning is like a re-birth’. Indeed, in English-language Orthodoxy the term used for death is repose, a near-synonym for sleep. Far less frequently, separation from familiar places or rejection by others can provoke transitions in life. Such events were a catalyst to explore an alternative, monastic, way of life for several of the monks such as Father Neot. In being tonsured as a monk, the novice is given a black robe symbolising death to the world, and is subsequently referred to as a Rassophore, literally a robe-bearer.

Father Alban explained that: ‘If one fears death one will become cowardly and over-careful; if one can face death, and determine one’s relation to it, one can live life fearlessly and to its fullness’. This fearlessness has precedent, as Father Aaron stated: ‘Our life is to be understood in terms of

His story'. This embrace of death leading to embrace of life I heard sung in the Easter hymn: 'Christ is risen from the dead, by death hath He trampled down death, and on those in the graves hath He bestowed life' (Saint John Chrysostomos, 1987: 176-177). Father Brendan paraphrased Saint Isaac the Syrian (original in 1984: 315) in explaining the practical implications for our lives: 'Each day prepare your heart for departure; do not neglect anything that shall help you on your journey'. The best way of preparation for the journey is sanctification, which also brings one closer to one's fellow monks. Father Teilo explained this via reference to an analogy: 'Picture a planetary system: the sun represents Jesus Christ, the planets represent the monks of the monastery; as we grow closer to Jesus Christ, through sanctification, we also become closer to our brothers who are likewise being sanctified'.

Even if death has been prepared for in part by the minor deaths and births of everyday life, it is still a tragedy. Father Alban stated that 'we are not created to die'. Father Aaron explained that: 'We are created as soul and body united; death divides this'. Even if death is not a surprise, it is still shocking to confront the physical reality of the reposed's body. In the Orthodox funeral service the coffin is left open and the community approach the coffin, one-by-one, to kiss the departed.

Yet even at this point, there are indications that this is a blessing, a beginning of a new life. The monk wears his cassock and monastic cloak; part of the latter is cut into two long strips which are then wrapped around the body. Father Neot explained that the way in which the strips are wrapped symbolises the cross of Christ, but also the swaddling bands in which He was wrapped as a baby. This reflects the words of the accompanying funeral service, which makes clear that death is the pre-requisite for this re-birth:

Thou hast returned me to the earth whence I was taken.

Lead me back again to thy likeness.

Refashioning my ancient beauty. (1978: 128)

An essential feature at memorial services is Kolyva, memorial wheat made from mixing boiled wheat with sugar, dried nuts, pomegranate and sesame seeds, and then decorated with coloured icing sugar to form one or more of the initials of the reposed, Orthodox symbols or icons (see figure 6.2). This is prepared on the third, ninth and fortieth days after a monk's repose, as well as on anniversaries; collective ones are prepared on particular Saturdays of the year – Soul Sabbaths – for remembering the reposed; special ones are also prepared for the feast days of particular Saints. It symbolises hope in the resurrection of the dead, 'Except a corn of wheat fall into the ground and die, it abideth alone: but if it die, it bringeth forth much fruit' (John 12:24 in Carroll and Prickett, 1997). Father Alban explained that just as when wheat disintegrates in the soil it is transformed into a new plant that bears much more fruit than itself, so the monk's body will be transformed from the corruptible matter it now consists of.



Figure 6.2 Kolyva at an Athonite monastery

This transformation of corruptible matter is prefigured by another aspect of monastic liturgical practices. Every night the monks venerate the monastery's relics: entire skulls, arms, legs and various fragments of Saints, some of whom had themselves been monks of the monastery. Despite their age, and the frequency with which they are kissed, these still remain intact. In fact, certain of them have been transformed, emitting fragrance or streaming myrrh.

In one sense death divides the community, taking its members away. However, this could be seen more as a change in the nature of the relationship between the members of the community. When Father Neot spoke of the three Elders who had influenced the spirit of the monastery it was far from clear that one had now reposed. Father Brendan confessed to speaking to a reposed monk as if he was beside him. He also explained that, more formally, the community commemorates the reposed by name at the Divine Liturgy: 'We pray for them, but we are also sure that they are praying for us'.

As well as these spiritual relationships amongst monks there are also relationships between the monks and, via icons, Saints from throughout the ages. The *katholikon*, the main church, of the monastery contains three miraculous icons. One featured in a miracle recounted to me. The then Abbot fervently prayed to the Saint as there was no oil for the lights in the Church on the eve of the Feast of the Translation of the Relics of Saint Alban (to the monastery). He fell asleep, and awoke to hear the Saint console him, assuring him not to worry as they cared for such things. He then noticed that the oil jar, miraculously, had filled, as had all the other stores in the monastery. Father Aaron, explained that, via icons, our present world is connected to the past and the future.

Fasts

Father Dogmael stated that: 'To live the monastic life within the framework of time is to await the hour of one's death. It is a life of repentance and transfiguration as in the Kontakion, a type of

hymn, for the Sunday of Orthodoxy, ‘when He took flesh of thee, O *Theotokos*¹⁰...He had restored the defiled image to its ancient state’ (Saint John Chrysostomos, 1987: 148). Father Chad spoke of how, through the struggles of fasting and all-night vigils, one surpasses the material. Although his legs hurt him because of the long hours standing during prayer, and especially his knees from the many prostrations which feature during Great Lent, he never took any medication: ‘The best medicine is the frequent reception of the Most Pure Mysteries of Christ’. The senses are mortified as interest in the salvation of the soul humbles the flesh and deadens the passions. The Abbot explained, again with reference to Elder David, that sanctification is a three-stage ladder. First there is the stage of purification, where one is not sinning in action. Second, the stage of illumination where, learning the truth, one is consciously suppressing evil thoughts and desires. Third, there is a state of perfection, where one can be dispassionate towards others.

Father Chad warned that:

Monastic luxury [such as that to be found in Vatopedi] will transform monks into laymen.

I remember hearing about an archaeological dig at a now deserted skete. It revealed that the older kalyvi were simple, plain dwellings whilst the more recent ones were luxurious, with paintings on the walls – not icons, I should add – resembling the dwellings of well-off people of the time. What we know from historians is that the skete ceased to operate because the kalyvi were being robbed so often!

This point is further reinforced by the similarity in expectation of monastics and lay Orthodox people, a point often missed by non-Orthodox writers about the Holy Mountain. As Nikolai Berdyaev, the Russian religious philosopher, stated: ‘Orthodoxy is more ascetic than Western Christianity, and is essentially a monastic religion’ (cited in Cavarinos, 1973: 39). A ‘secular’ Orthodox is expected, for instance, to keep the fasts, which are of the same severity as for

¹⁰ *Theotokos* is the Orthodox Christian name for the Mother of God and is usually not translated from the Greek.

monastics (the difference in diet is in the non-fasting periods when monastics continue to refrain from consuming meat) and to chant morning and evening prayers. A single Orthodox is expected to live a celibate life and married Orthodox are expected to refrain from conjugal relations on Sundays, feast days and during the fasts i.e. Wednesday, Friday and the entirety of the four fasting seasons. For Fathers Egbert and Dunstan, the structure of monastic life enables them to meet such expectations more easily than their past, relatively less-structured life outside.

The Abbot said that one should 'keep the inner man busy with prayer and the outer man, the body, active with physical work'. In principle, this does not differ from other monasteries on the mountain. However, the definition of physical work here is that of manual labour, whereas Father Trumbert of another monastery defined it somewhat differently, as 'fasting, celibacy, vigils, kneeling and prostrating, standing still during prayer, reading and chanting'. Both would agree that such activities are important instruments for the spiritual practices of confession, concentration, meditation, inner attention, love, private prayer and corporate prayer i.e. worship in Church.

The reason for employing physical as well as spiritual methods is the Orthodox belief that humans are made up of body and soul, and that the state of one affects the state of the other. Right physical practices are viewed as having good effects on the soul or spirit, and right spiritual practices as producing good effects on the body: 'It is amazing to see the bodiless mind defiled and darkened by the body, and likewise the immaterial spirit purified and refined through clay' (Saint John Climacus, 1959: 55). Both physical and spiritual practices have as their ultimate end the transformation of the soul, the restoration of the divine image in humankind to the likeness of God, and thereby the attainment of *theosis*, participation in God's perfection and blessedness i.e. salvation.

The Abbot referred to an example from IM7, a monastery near IM4 where the Abbot had previously been a monk. Just prior to the celebration of one thousand years of monasticism on Athos, in 1963, modernisation had taken place. Exploiting the occasion to promote its plan of gradually turning

Athos into a tourist area, the Greek government introduced a modern sink and tap in each guest room with a mirror above, thereby enabling tourists to shave and groom themselves. Previously, as now at IM, there was just a sink and tap in the communal corridor, and no mirrors at all. This was a mistake, the Abbot explained, a sin against the tradition of the Church Fathers. For Saint Augustine taught that a beard becomes a man. Likewise Saint Cosmas Aitolos, a Saint from Philotheou monastery, taught that a man with a beard should rightfully take a higher place at the table and in the Church. In addition, Saint Nicodemus the Hagiorite, another Athonite Saint, argued that to beautify oneself is narcissism, and thus alien to the Christian way of life. This mistake succeeded in increasing the number of tourists. However, the resultant distractions had led the more contemplative monks to seek quieter, less distracting monastic settings. When the Abbot visited IM7 in 1957, shortly before becoming a monk at IM4, there had been twenty monks. By the mid-1960s, according to a monk who had relocated to IM4, there were seven left.

Father Akmund made reference to a painting he had seen in a brochure from the Tretyakov gallery in Moscow. It showed a 'rosy and round priest, seated, surrounded by women wearing ostentatious crosses who pushed blind and crippled people away'. A similar painting, from the same gallery, is reproduced here (figure 6.3).



Figure 6.3 Tea Drinking in Mytishchi, near Moscow (Perov, 1862)

This is not what the Church, or indeed the monasteries of Athos should be like. In fact, the Athonite emphasis on the interior, spiritual life contrasted with the wordly, material concerns of monasteries elsewhere. For instance, in the fifteenth century:

The [Russian] monasteries had acquired vast estates, including entire villages, and used their inhabitants as merely a means for the prosperity of the monks. Having learned the nature of true monasticism on Athos, the holy father [Saint Nil(os) Sorsky] condemned this aberrant form of Russian monasticism. (Cavarnos, 1973: 53)

Feasts

The fasting contrasts with the feasting that takes place when major festivals are celebrated, such as Christmas, Easter, the feast of the Dormition of the Mother of God and the feast of Saints Peter and Paul (all four preceded by fasting of between two and six weeks) together with the patronal feast of the monastery. Unfortunately due to the timing of the patronal feast of IM – during term time – I was not able to attend theirs. However, I was able to attend the patronal feast at another

Athonite monastery and secondary patronal feasts at two more and so was able to make comparison through discussion with the monks to that which took place at IM.

When pilgrims arrive they are shown to a bed. Due to the number of pilgrims – often all the spiritual sons of the priests of the monastery, together with other supporters and visitors – the accommodation is even more makeshift than usual, with mattresses on the floor, and monks sometimes asked to vacate their cells and share with others to create space for visiting monks and other clergy. Often a Bishop – and his attendant entourage – will also be present. The monks of the choir are joined by others from sketes and *kelli* under their omophorion, and from other monasteries. The liturgy lasts from the afternoon of the day before to late morning of the feast itself – approximately eighteen hours in total – and the music transforms from impassioned melancholy wailing during the vigil to joyous celebratory chanting on the feast itself. After the liturgy special sweets and multi-coloured liquors are distributed to refresh the ailing monks and pilgrims and there follows the best possible food permissible by the fasting rules which pertain to the day (sometimes the rule is lifted one notch i.e. one can have oil on a Monday during the fast as at St. Paul's, or one can have fish on a 'normal', non-fasting day).

6.3 The capitals within IM

The *habitus* largely reproduces the quantity and distribution of capitals (Bourdieu, 1984). These broad categories encompass what actors bring – or not – from their *habitus* into the field of play. Capital may take one or more different forms: in this section I first consider, in view of the nature of IM, religious and spiritual capital; I then consider social, economic and cultural capital, including computer skills. As a legacy from their pre-Athos *habitus* monks may also retain capitals which persist within the different field and *habitus* of IM and may become significant. Such variation in the distribution of capitals forms the basis of the final subsection.

Religious and spiritual capital

Bourdieu considers religious capital comprises both practical mastery and knowledgeable mastery (1987; 1991). Practical mastery is a pre-reflexive scheme of thinking and action acquired through familiarisation, experience rather than explicit teaching; its acquisition is open to all members of a religious group. At IM, acquisition of this capital is not only open to all its members, monks are required to acquire it as a condition of their tonsure. They do so via the practices, rituals and mysteries described in section 6.2; in other words it is reproduced in each new generation of monks via the monastic *habitus*.

Knowledgeable mastery is also acquired by all the monks through their systematic instruction in the body of knowledge as part of their formation described in section 6.2. However, what Bourdieu considers the most coveted knowledge, of the ‘goods of salvation’ (1987: 132; 1991: 15) such as the Holy Mysteries, is primarily the preserve of the hieromonks¹¹ who perform them. Thus the production and reproduction of this form of religious capital at IM does sustain the distinction between priest and laity (Bourdieu, 1991), distinguishing those that have it from those they (purport to) serve who are subject to it, for example in the confessional. One of the guest workers indeed observed that it is the priests who are in a position of power; ‘monks are nothing’.

Whilst this esoteric or secret knowledge is the preserve of the priesthood, as in Roman Catholic France from which Bourdieu formed his position, I did not encounter evidence that it is especially hoarded by the hierarchy of IM, as Bourdieu believes it is in France. Thus, whilst Bourdieu’s concept of religious capital is shaped by a particular appropriation of French Roman Catholicism, I believe it is partly applicable to this ‘non Roman Catholic context’ without risking ‘serious misrepresentation of the phenomena under study’ as feared by Guest (2007: 188). Further, although Rey considers Bourdieu’s focus on networks of power is of limited utility when addressing

¹¹ A monk who is also ordained as a priest. Outside of the Holy Mysteries, where they wear specific vestments, they may be distinguished from other monks by their pectoral (chest) cross.

bounded communities like denominations or congregations rather than a global canvas (2004) I have found it at least partly applicable in this respect also.

Mouzelis considers that Bourdieu's concepts are useful, but not sufficient. With relevance to IM, Mouzelis developed the concept of spiritual capital which is very different from Bourdieu's religious capital. Spiritual capital disappears as one tries to instrumentally acquire it – it cannot be hoarded, whether by the Vatican or anyone else. It also seems to disappear as Mouzelis tries to describe it, the closest he comes being that it is 'the "beneficial" ...unintended results of an "expressive" search for the "divine" (inside or outside oneself)' (1995: 203).

To the extent that I am able to discern the fruits of such a search, I felt that they were evident in the way of being and speaking of the hieromonks; a view reinforced by how the monks spoke of them, especially the Abbot (see section 5.3). How spiritual and religious capitals can be so intertwined, in view of their difference, is in my view because spiritual capital is a pre-requisite for being ordained as a priest. However, that is not to say that hieromonks are the only monks who possess spiritual capital. I sensed in my own interactions with Father Oswald, and in observing those between him and pilgrims as well as hearing them speaking of him, that he too possesses it.

Social capital

Social capital can be defined as the powers and the resources that stem from networks of relationships. Within IM all monks are brothers. However, whilst there is a strong, collective, relatively uniform monastic identity, there is also a degree of variation and as in family life, some brothers identify more with particular brothers. Such affinity may be forged through undergoing formation as fellow novices, through spiritual guidance and companionship, through having spent the early part of one's life together (as with Father Oswald and his two blood brothers who are also monks of IM) and through personality. The informal lunch in the groves, described in detail in section 5.3, reflected the relative extrovert or introvert preference of the monks involved. Some monks would engage in lively conversation which, though far from coarse or indecent, could be

considered 'idle' according to the Orthodox tradition; others would withdraw to consume their rations in rather more tranquil solitariness.

The monks of IM, having been brought up outside the Holy Mountain, have differing social networks beyond it, as well as different networks of relationships within it. Upon joining IM monks have to forego much, if not all, contact with their social network, but as the example of the (blood) brothers of Father Oswald shows, it is possible that it can be maintained, depending upon the circumstances. One circumstance assisting maintenance are ICTs which can help keep connections active through the long periods between visits of acquaintances to the Mountain, or even rarer visits of monks to the 'mainland'. For example, Father Alphege mentioned that he had received, shortly before we first spoke, a call from London. He later told me, after I greeted him on his name day with 'Many Years' – a typical Orthodox wish, that a friend from Pennsylvania had greeted him with a message of just three words: 'Repent, repair, repeat'. Similarly, after getting himself a smartphone Father Oswald exchanged emails (including with me) and used a friend's Facebook account (he was adamant that he did not himself have an account) to see what he and other friends were up to. Thus, social capital at IM incentivises ICT adoption whilst at the same time ICT adoption strengthens social capital. This confirms what Kvasny and Keil (2006) found in their study of community technology centres: it was through social networks that people came to them; once through the door, the friendships the participants formed enhanced this capital further.

Political capital, a variant of social capital, '[g]uarantees its holders a private appropriation of goods and public services (residences, cars, hospitals, schools, and so on' (Bourdieu, 2010: 16). The Abbot of IM has his private 'suite' – i.e. a separate office as well as his cell – at the monastery, a room at the *metochi* in Thessaloniki and, of the monks, is the most likely to be taken for dinner by benefactors of the monastery when staying in Greece's second city.

However, it does not really constitute private appropriation, as monastic life is all-encompassing, comprising both life and work. It would be more accurate to describe it as personal appropriation

afforded him in view of his hierarchical position, for as long as he retains it. In other words, a 'perk of the job'. In the case of IM such personal appropriation is in real terms insignificant, in contrast to more famous monasteries such as Vatopedi. However, relatively, compared to the other monks of IM, it is a somewhat different way of life. More broadly it can certainly be said that the Abbot has 'control over and among actors' and potentially has 'coercive power' (Casey, 2008: 7) via his religious capital, should he be inclined to exercise it.

Of course, for Bourdieu social capital is not simply networks and connections but may be the manners, bearing, and pronunciation that derive from membership of a prestigious group (1986: 256). With respect to IM, my knowledge of Greek was insufficient to discern differences in pronunciation which might reflect social capital; the differences I observed in manners and bearing I felt were indicative more of embodied cultural capital, which will be considered after economic capital.

Economic capital

Economic capital consists of monetary and material wealth. Of all the capitals, within IM, it is the most evenly distributed. Before being tonsured as a monk of IM, a postulant needs to settle their estate, donating it to one or more of IM, family and friends. In a cenobitic monastery such as IM possessions are held in common by the community. In practice monks do have particular possessions purchased and then allocated to them for their custodianship and use. However, monks do not have any money with which to buy such artefacts themselves. As described in section 5.3 with respect to Father Alphege and his jigsaws of ships – and which also applied to 'his' laptop and mobile phone – it is the Abbot who gives his blessing or not as to whether an artefact requested by a monk will be acquired. Father Neot, the Steward, then decides how it will be acquired i.e. will it be added to the weekly shopping list for the 'mainland' run or, as mentioned in section 5.3, will regular pilgrims/spiritual sons be informed so that they bring it on their next visit or post it. With respect to ICTs it is therefore not possible for a monk to independently acquire a mobile phone or

a computer (unless it comes to him by means of a covert gift from a pilgrim, something for which I saw no evidence).

As mentioned in section 5.3, the block of downtown Thessaloniki, which the monastery owns, generated annual rental revenue of approximately €130,000 in 2008. In view of the number of monks this makes for an income of €3,250 per head. This makes the monastery far from wealthy, certainly in comparison to Vatopedi which possesses great wealth (Kathimerini, 2013), but with its central Thessaloniki block it is far from destitute, certainly in comparison to Esphigmenou which survives on €40 per day (Whipple, 2009). It would therefore be fairer to say that the monastery is more sufficient materially than deficient (Murdock et al., 1996).

Some of the ICTs would have been subsidised or free – e.g. the roll-out of OTE's WiMAX equipment – whilst another, the Vodafone mast, could have been revenue generating for the monastery. The first ICT the monastery did adopt was free, however, this was not the reason it was adopted. It was adopted for the same reason that it was made available free: the Holy Community in Karyes, at which the monastery has a representative, had agreed that all monasteries should participate in the new *diamonitirion* invitation scheme. Of course, relating this back to section 2.4, the initial cost of a personal computer and relevant software is only an estimated 16% of the TCO (Kling, 1999): there are other costs to consider. The fact that this desktop is rarely used could be a consequence of the costs of training, updating, reconfiguration and maintenance. However, just as the cost of computing has been compared to the cost of owning hi-fi systems and mountain bikes (Neice, 1998), the cost would certainly be less than that of maintaining the monastery's Toyota HiLux station wagon. It does not seem, therefore that economic capital is significant. It seems more likely that there was as little will to use it as there was to resist the Holy Community accepting it, especially when the new *diamonitirion* invitation scheme did not become *de rigueur*.

Kvasny and Keil found that economic capital in some cases impacted upon ICT use, but usually only after someone had obtained training at a community technology centre: 'Looking at all of that

technology upset me. It made me realize that I really needed to make some money...' (2006: 41). Before that, economic capital was not an issue: even those who had bought or been given a computer weren't inclined to use it. As in Atlanta, so the acquisition of ICTs in IM will not guarantee their use; the extent to which the monks will be trained in, or are already familiar with ICTs, may prove decisive.

Cultural capital and computer skills

In comparison to economic capital, cultural capital, whilst still valuable and worth accumulating, is generally less tangible. It includes knowledge, skill, taste, lifestyle and qualifications (Bourdieu and Thompson, 1991). Cultural capital is a more disguised form of capital as it is usually obtained in a less straightforward manner than economic capital, that is, through education and family (Bourdieu, 1986: 253). It may be manifested through a person, via their possessions, or carried in the form of certificates.

Carried in the form of certificates, institutionalised or certified capital implies 'officially recognized, guaranteed competence' (Bourdieu, 1986: 243). Such recognition 'confers entirely original properties on the cultural capital which it is presumed to guarantee' (Bourdieu, 1986: 243) through the 'performative magic of the power of instituting', an imposition of recognition through 'social alchemy and ritual' (Bourdieu, 1986: 243). A good example here is the academic qualification, a certificate of cultural competence that separates the 'last successful candidate from the first unsuccessful one' (Bourdieu, 1986: 248). Most of the monks were students prior to joining IM. However, whilst some had graduated, such as Father Felix in biochemistry and Father Alban in mathematics, others had not, such as Egbert in physics who was not encouraged to complete his degree before becoming a monk. This shows the relative lack of importance attributed to certified cultural capital at IM, reflecting the fact that, as Father Teilo pointed out, Elder David, the Spiritual Father of IM had only been educated for two years.

Objectified cultural capital is manifested via possession of ‘cultural goods’ such as pictures, books, dictionaries, instruments, machines, and, especially, writing (Bourdieu, 1986: 243). In view of the constraints upon personal possessions within a cenobitic monastery, described in the previous subsection on economic capital, objectified cultural capital was rarely displayed. I did not get to assess monks’ writing, and what books I saw were of a spiritual or religious nature. However, Father Alphege’s jigsaws and technologies, and Father Oswald’s prints of paintings as well as icons, did indicate at least a small quantity of such capital.

Manifested through a person, embodied cultural capital is a product of ‘external wealth converted into an integral part of the person’ (Bourdieu, 1986: 244), in the form of ‘long-lasting dispositions of the mind and body’ (Bourdieu, 1986: 243), such as a suntan, language skills, bodily comportment or a personal familiarity with works of art. In the olive groves, expressions of individual variation in bodily comportment were more to the fore than in IM itself: the well-built Father Cuthbert would wear his habit and wield his chainsaw rather like a monastic ‘Rambo’ whereas the willowy, hat and sunglasses wearing, Father Seraphim would pitch-fork piles of olive branches into the truck in graceful arcs. More generally, most of the monks seemed to be alert and articulate, many had received education or training in technical disciplines, others had been in the arts, whether of the martial variety (Brother Edmund) or icon painting (Father Oswald). Several of the monks were fluent in English, such as Fathers Alphege and Oswald, others in French, such as Father Brendan. One cannot therefore say that they generally lacked cognitive ability, whether in terms of mathematical skill (Schumacher, 1993) or creativity (Offir et al., 1993).

Just as material deficiency is not an especially persuasive explanation of ICT resistance in the monastery, the monks’ cognitive ability may not actually favour technology adoption. The highly specialised and autonomous nature of physicians’ work is thought to lead them to be independent in their thinking and decision-making and therefore less inclined to put weight on peers’ opinions when deciding to adopt a new technology (Chau and Hu, 2002). The monastic life, *collectively*, is

highly autonomous from broader society and is a specific vocation; they too are likely to put less weight on opinions from outside when deciding to adopt a new technology. This research therefore supports the argument that the generalisations of quantitative models such as 'TAM may not be appropriate for user populations that have considerably above-average general competence and intellectual capacity' (Hu et al., 1999: 106).

Likewise, if cognitive deficiency is defined very closely to that of lack of experience (Todman and Monaghan, 1994; Miller, 1994), then it is also clear from the monks that many of them, especially younger ones, were familiar with ICTs. In other words they possessed what Kvasny (2006) termed 'computing skills', itself a form of cultural capital. Through interviewing the monks, three general groups could be discerned with regard to prior internet and mobile phone usage. The first group comprises those that have arrived in approximately the last ten years – Greece was a comparatively slow adopter of the internet although a comparatively quick adopter of mobile telephony (Castells, 2010) – together with those from an educated – especially a scientific, mathematical or engineering – background who've arrived in the last fifteen years. This group of ten monks has experience of both mobile telephones and internet, although not necessarily ownership of each. Only two monks, in fact, had had home access to the internet. The other eight had used computers at secondary school and, to some extent, for those to whom it applies, at university. Even in 2009 at the Aristotle University of Thessaloniki – from my own experience there as a student – computers were not available or accessible in many of the Schools, in part due to the damage caused by regular occupations of the campus. An additional two monks – Father Alban and Father Felix – have experience of computers from before their arrival at the monastery but not of the internet.

A larger group of twenty have been resident at the monastery for over fifteen years and do not have personal experience of the internet. Some of these monks wear as a badge of honour the length of time they have continuously stayed at the monastery, without stepping foot beyond its land. Others have travelled to see friends or family and have encountered technology somewhat

more. All, of course, have seen or heard mobile phones, some very sophisticated, in the palms of pilgrims and other visitors, such as myself. It would be a step too far to describe them as technophobic (e.g. Brosnan and Davidson, 1994), for they did not express fear or stress when contemplating use of an ICT: in general they simply did not envisage a purposeful use of an ICT for a monk. Kvasny (2006) found that effective ICT use, 'computing skills' in their study, which is itself a cultural capital, relied upon a certain level of another cultural capital, basic literacy. For without this, users 'did not spell well enough for the spell checker to be of much assistance' (Kvasny and Keil, 2006: 39). At IM all the monks have basic literacy, even if not 'computing skills' so I do not consider this to be a constraint in this context.

A third group, of eight monks, have had experience of the internet and mobile telephony since becoming monks. This includes the four members of the council, two former members of the council and two others. Father Alphege shocked me when he first revealed that: 'Before I became a monk I was an electrician, so actually, I have electricity in my cell'. That went some way in explaining how he seemed to be very familiar with computers when we earlier had spoken about my teaching, despite having been a monk for over thirty years. It also helped to explain how he could have received, shortly before we first spoke in 2010, a phone call. As this example reveals, the general monastic *habitus* at IM can come into conflict with the prior, pre-Athos, *habitus* of the monks. How this conflict plays out is explored further in chapter 7.

Variation in the distribution of capitals

Whilst each form of capital is manifest in a different 'currency' (Bourdieu, 1985), they are all interconnected (Bourdieu and Wacquant, 1992) and far from evenly distributed. As discussed in the previous section, the Hieromonks' spiritual capital may have led to them being ordained as priests and the Abbot's to him being elected. The Abbot also, by virtue of his position, has considerable political capital. Similarly, Fathers Alphege and Oswald have slightly varying, but significant quantities of social and cultural capital, each capital strengthening the other. To some

extent the variation in what capitals these actors bring from their *habitus* into the field of play (Bourdieu, 2010) reflects the fact that they do not simply bring capitals from the monastic habitus of IM, but also the *habiti* they inhabited prior to coming to the Holy Mountain.

It is not always the case that acquisition of one capital strengthens the acquisition of another. As the postulants are formed, and acquire religious capital, on their tonsuring as monks they must donate their economic capital. Likewise, as discussed in the sub-section on social capital, they must forego much of their social capital which extends beyond IM. These cases of the distribution of one capital being the inverse of the distribution of another capital are therefore similar in nature, although different in detail, to the cases of avant-garde artists or academics who may have significant cultural capital but relatively little economic capital (Bourdieu, 1998). As in those cases, at IM economic capital is discredited. This time economic capital is discredited by religious capital which heralds poverty as essential for monastic growth towards God, and likewise social capital is discredited as a worldly distraction from salvation.

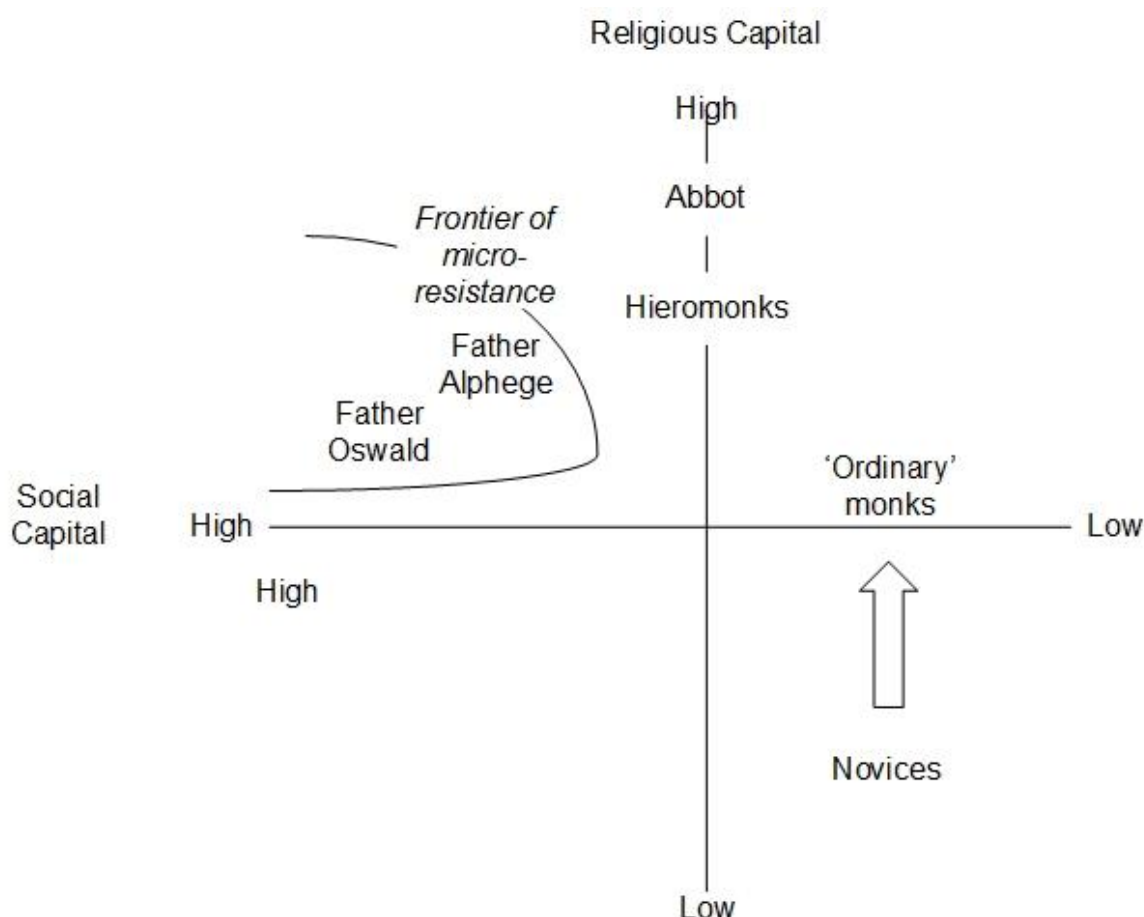


Figure 6.4 Social Capital versus Religious Capital in IM

These variously distributed different capitals may be mapped against each other, rather as Bourdieu did (see figure 3.4). In the first diagram, figure 6.4, social capital within IM is mapped against religious capital. In terms of religious capital, which increases vertically from bottom to top, the distribution of capital reflects the effective organisational hierarchy. This differs from the constitutional structure of the monastery by replacing the Council of Elders with Hieromonks, reflecting the comments of those within IM and the knowledgeable mastery developed by priests. In practice there is, in any case, an overlap between the two categories. Father Alphege is positioned slightly below the Hieromonks. This reflects his relative seniority within the monastery, having been together with the Abbot as a novice at their previous monastery, both moving to IM when it was re-populated as well as my judgment of his relative familiarity with religious practices and language based upon my conversations with him and the other monks of IM. Father Oswald is

below Father Alphege but also above 'normal' monks. This reflects his appropriation of religious capital via his role as Ecclesiarch, responsible for the upkeep and functioning of the Church and its services, which includes care of the monastery's icons, a connection to his past life as an icon painter. Beneath 'normal' monks are novices, who as they undergo their formation acquire more religious capital such that they can join 'normal' monks once they are tonsured.

In terms of social capital, which decreases horizontally from left to right, the distribution does not follow the organisational hierarchy so closely. 'Ordinary' monks and novices, in general, have relatively low social capital. Novices are relatively free to come and go, so may find it easier to maintain their social network outside of IM and the Holy Mountain. However, their social network may still be impacted by their presence in IM, and may in any case have not been so extensive to begin with. Novices, if they 'take the habit', must forego much of their remaining social capital which extends beyond IM as they have very limited opportunities to maintain it. However, this is outweighed by them gaining social capital as they become a full member of the brotherhood. The Abbot and the Hieromonks have a medium level of social capital: as they take services at the *metochi* in Thessaloniki they have a more extensive, current, social network extending beyond the Holy Mountain; in addition it is usually the Abbot or one of the Hieromonks who represent IM at the Patronal Feasts of other monasteries on the Holy Mountain and so they have a more extensive social network than 'ordinary' monks within the Holy Mountain, too. Fathers Oswald and Alphege have the most social capital. Father Oswald, especially, is popular among the monks; this is cemented by his two blood brothers being monks within IM. Both are sought out by pilgrims. This may, of course, be for other reasons: pilgrims wishing to find out about the church, or venerate the relics, would seek out Father Oswald; pilgrims in the know may seek out Father Alphege to charge their phone or sneakily smoke in relative secrecy on his balcony. However, it was at least in part because pilgrims enjoyed talking with them. In view of their similar quantities of capital and pattern of ICT adoption it is possible to delimit a frontier of micro-level resistance to the meso-level policy

of resisting ICTs. How their possession of these capitals plays out over time is the focus of the next chapter.

In the second diagram, figure 6.5, cultural capital within IM, which decreases horizontally from left to right, is mapped against religious capital. At first sight it is very similar to the first. After all, social capital can strengthen cultural capital and vice-versa. Both Fathers Oswald and Alphege again appear in the upper left quadrant. Both fluent in English, with family in English-speaking countries – Father Alphege’s in Australia and Father Oswald’s in the UK – meant that their social networks extended beyond Greece, and would grow further through English-speaking pilgrims. More significantly for this study their computing skills, and ICT adoption, were both cause and consequence of this social capital: consequence as it enabled them to observe ICTs in use, prior to adopting, and encouraged them to adopt so as to keep in touch with their global social network; cause as such networks were strengthened and developed through their ICT use. However, as may be seen on closer inspection their positions are slightly different: Father Alphege’s computer skills were significantly greater than those of Father Oswald, although Father Oswald had higher general cultural capital, through his appreciation of, and accomplishment in, the fine arts. The Abbot and the Hieromonks have a medium level of cultural capital, as they did social capital: through their visits to Thessaloniki they have greater access to cultural resources, including ICTs, even if they do not particularly appropriate them. With lesser access ‘ordinary’ monks, in general, have relatively low cultural capital, as they did social capital. Novices, however, have a higher degree of cultural capital, including computing skills, than ‘ordinary’ monks, the Abbot and the Hieromonks, although less than Fathers Oswald and Alphege. This reflects the computer skills and other cultural capital they bring with them to IM. However, what will happen to such capital through, and after, their formation is an interesting question. If the frontier of micro-resistance, of ICT adoption, expands to include novices then they may well keep such capital as they grow in religious capital, becoming closer to Fathers Oswald and Alphege than the ‘ordinary’ monks of the map. Otherwise, their computer skills and other cultural capital is especially susceptible to attrition, as fashions and

technologies change and techniques and practices are at best dormant, but most likely forgotten. How this develops will feature in the next chapter.

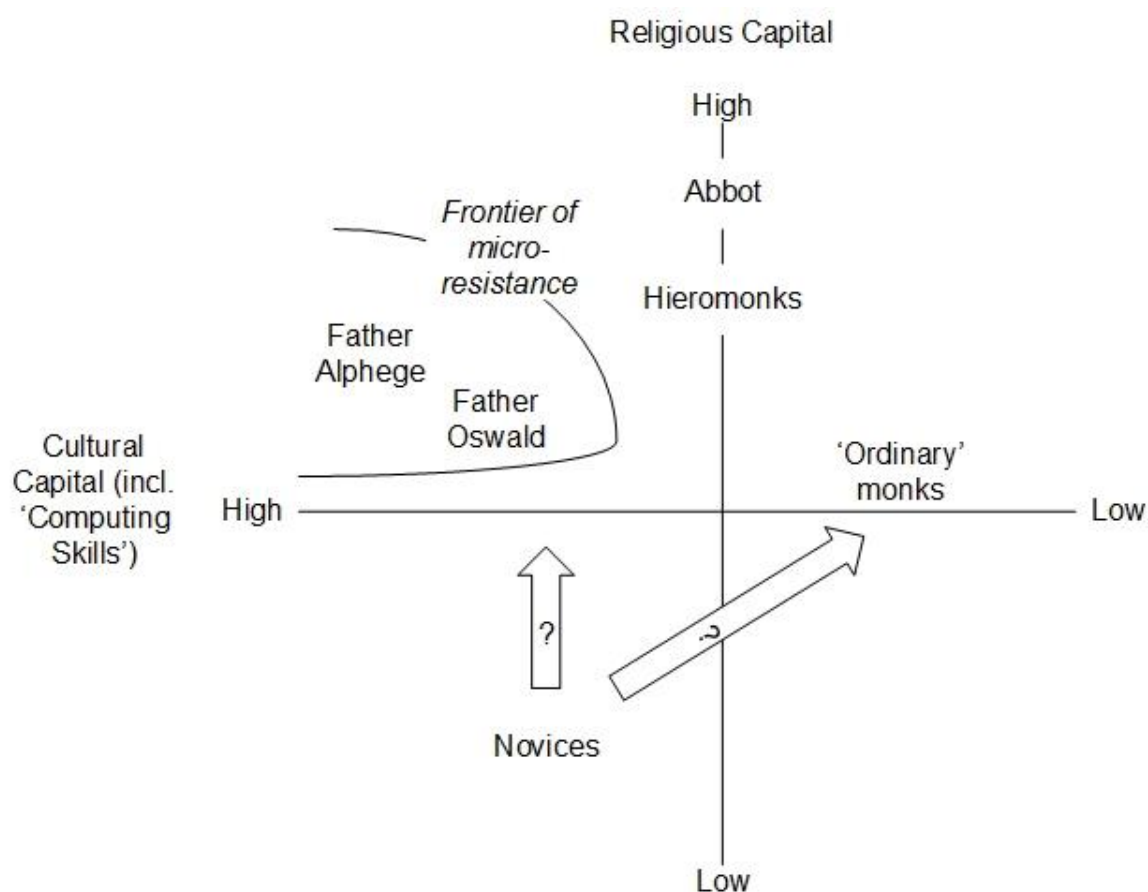


Figure 6.5 Cultural Capital versus Religious Capital in IM

Capital has been used in this section, as per Bourdieu, as a term which encompasses the resources, stakes and access for which struggles or manoeuvres take place in the field; it is the latter concept which forms the focus of the next section.

6.4 The Orthodox monastic field

Fields, according to Bourdieu, are structured systems of social positions within which struggles take place over resources, stakes and access (Bourdieu, 1990). A monastery, as an organisation, can be viewed as a field (Emirbayer and Johnson, 2008; Vaughan, 2008). However, the totality of relevant

actors extends beyond it, as per DiMaggio and Powell (1983), and is therefore best considered a subfield of the Orthodox monastic field.

The Orthodox monastic field is a restricted rather than a generalised field (Bourdieu, 1985) as it does not really produce spiritual or religious goods destined for consumption by the 'public at large' (Bourdieu, 1985: 17) but rather for other producers of spiritual or religious goods, i.e. the Church and its members. As a restricted field it can be more or less autonomous. The ideal Orthodox monastic field would be perfectly autonomous for there is a tendency for 'the economy of practices [to be] based...on a systematic inversion of the fundamental principle of all ordinary economies, that of business, that of power, and even that of institutionalized cultural authority' (Bourdieu, 1983: 320). The economic world would be turned upside-down, governed by charisma, aesthetic intention and disinterestedness rather than commerce. As such success would be measured according to the criteria of legitimacy specific to that field i.e. the acquisition of spiritual and religious capital.

However, the Orthodox monastic field is not ideal, and colonisation is occurring. As is the case in practice of other restricted fields it is affected by the laws that encompass it, those laws being economic and political profit (Bourdieu, 1983: 320). Thus, the Orthodox monastic field in Greece is being impacted upon – economically, politically and legally – by the Greek nation state and the EU, as briefly mentioned in section 4.2 with respect to the functions of adaptation, goal-attainment and integration. Economically, the EU has provided millions of euros, match-funded by the Greek state, for the restoration of the fabric of Athonite and other monasteries. The Greek state has also repealed, in the midst of Greece's crisis, their exemption from property taxes (Kathimerini, 2012). Politically, the European Parliament has adopted a text requesting the lifting of the ban on women entering the territory of the Monks' Republic (2003). The ban, decided on in 1045, 'nowadays violates the universally recognised principle of gender equality, Community non-discrimination and equality legislation and the provisions relating to free movement of persons within the EU' (2003).

Legally, the Abbot of Vatopedi monastery on Mount Athos was imprisoned on the 'mainland' for four months, 'accused of inciting officials to commit acts of fraud, perjury and money-laundering' (Papachlimintzos, 2012).

Within IM it is certainly the general case that the acquisition of religious capital, as opposed to economic capital, is dominant amongst the monks. Indeed, the monks, who have significant religious capital but relatively little economic capital, discredit non-religious capitals, as Bourdieu suggests takes place amongst those with cultural capital who seek to undermine economic capital. However, as with the legal field, it may also be the case that colonisation is occurring and that monastic life is not as autonomous as they might think. If significant colonisation had occurred, the restricted field could be said to be heteronomous and success might be measured by a non-field-specific index, for instance income. Beyond IM, but within the Orthodox monastic field, colonisation is certainly taking place: especially in Russia there is a growing Orthodox political economy, in which monasteries play a key role (Medvedeva, 2016). However, even there (or perhaps especially there!) it takes a brave person to suggest that the true nature of the relations underlying the field and its reproduction is economic profit, or even that there are contradictions inherent in the field: it would be 'sacrilege *par excellence*, the unforgivable sin which all the censorships constituting the field seek to repress' (Bourdieu, 1983: 354).

Within the field the relative weight of the forms of capital is beginning to shift a little, from religious capital to computing skills and social capital. This is thus a parallel to the shift from cultural to economic capital found in Oakes et al.'s (1998) organisational research where business plans were advocated as a way to control spending and to introduce accountability into their organisation of study's operations. This change in the field's capital may in turn change the identities, or more precisely the *habitus* of those in the field: 'the field structuring the *habitus*' (Oakes et al., 1998). It will also favour those who possess computing skills and social capital.

In Mouzelis' (2008) reading of Bourdieu, fields – as structured, hierarchical, sets of social positions – are synonymous with the positional dimension, for which Mouzelis usually uses Parsons' AGIL schema. However, according to Bourdieu his fields do differ from Parsons' systems. The fact that they are sites of struggles and endless change makes fields different to 'systems,' for systems 'postulate common function, internal cohesion, and self-regulation' (Bourdieu and Wacquant, 1992: 103). There is generally common function, internal cohesion and self-regulation at IM and therefore the Parsonian system and the Bourdieusian field are very similar. In the case of IM the Parsonian latent pattern maintenance subsystem – concerned with religion/kinship – suffers from friction against, and penetration by, the adaptation subsystem – concerned with the economy – just as the Bourdieusian Orthodox monastic field suffers from colonisation by the broader economy. Further, if IM constitutes a doxic society, there will be little scope for symbolic struggle.

6.5 Interpreting ICTs through doxic religious capital

This section explores in more detail monks' interpretations of ICTs. These interpretations are influenced, in part, by the general monastic *habitus* described in section 6.3, in part by capitals acquired through this and the monks' prior, pre-Athos, *habitus* explored in section 6.4 and in part by the Orthodox monastic field. What was striking as I interviewed the monks was how much their interpretations were shaped by their religious capital.

ICTs as distraction and temptation

Father Chad was one of a group of twenty monks who had been resident at the monastery for over fifteen years, and did not have personal experience of ICTs. Whilst therefore unfamiliar with the contemporary technologies of the internet and the mobile phone, he was, in his time, relatively familiar with technology, having served as a radio operator during his military service. This experience led him to make an analogy: 'Monks are like radio operators, they must remove themselves from the noise of the world so that they can focus on their communications, in this case with God'.

However, Father Chad was concerned that the internet and mobile phones might engender *akedia*: laziness, dejection or indifference; a passion which the monk must struggle against. Demons might try to hinder the salvation of monks, causing *akedia* via thoughts of their relatives, home and past life, and tempting them to leave the mountain and return to the world.

Father Dyfrig posited that man is the only creature in the whole of creation who can become godlike, the process referred to as deification in the Orthodox Church. He considers that those who are not being deified feel an emptiness within themselves, an emptiness that they seek to fill with noise, tension, video, radio and information about almost anything: in other words, a devotion to earthly cares. These help him to forget that he is on the wrong path. Father Dyfrig expressed his concern that ICTs would prove to be such a distraction for monks – at least those less spiritually mature – in the monastery. Another response to this emptiness – to escape from it via retreat into a virtual world – might also be more easily enabled by ICT, through games and interactive simulations such as Second Life.

However, he also pointed out that in the state of spiritual death, the life of modern man is defined by the biological life of his body, and his interests are determined by his exclusive fixation on his bodily needs and desires. In this state the internet might become the means by which such desires might seemingly be satiated: for not all monks on the Holy Mountain – or indeed elsewhere – are spiritual flowers who beautify ‘the garden of the *Theotokos*’. Some have only recently become monastics and others have failed to advance spiritually.

ICTs as irrelevance

Brother Dunstan is typical of the group of younger monks, experienced with ICTs. In response to me asking about technology he stated that: ‘Sure, technology can make life easier, but it doesn’t necessarily make life better’. He continued: ‘One can find God everywhere, of course, but through technologies and administration it is very hard to’. He has been a monk for two years; previously he had been a bus driver in Thessaloniki during the day and owned and managed a driving school

in the evening, so was pretty familiar with both technology and administration. He, and most of his fellow novices, had chosen IM in the knowledge that it was resisting ICTs. Interestingly, reflecting their lower religious capital as discussed in the last section, and perhaps their greater and more recent experience, they spoke in more practical terms, although still referencing God, as in the quotation above.

Father Adrian, one of the eight (senior) monks with experience of the internet and mobile telephony since becoming monks, recalled a conversation he had with his father in the early 1980s when home computers were first being advertised. His father had asked: 'They might be of some use in an office, but why would you choose to have one at home?' As Father Adrian admits, in the thirty or so years since, many answers have been given to that question, but yet he still wonders why you would choose to have one in a monastery.

ICTs as possession

Father Bede expressed his opinion of information and communication technologies through recounting a story concerning an Elder. He had left the monastery for the market in order to buy a new cape. As soon as he had bought it, he sat down with it. Doing so, he discerned that someone nearby was loitering with the intent of stealing it. The Elder stood up and left, allowing the thief to take the cape and he said nothing. Father Bede asked: 'How much was that cape worth to him?' Although he possessed a new cape, he did not really consider it his own, and when it was stolen, he was neither worried nor saddened. Father Bede concluded that: 'It is not harmful if one possesses such technologies; what is harmful is to be possessed by them'.

Father Adrian told a similar tale of a novice who so was so much enamoured of a branch he found in the olive groves he took it home to the monastery with him. The stick accompanied him through the whole daily cycle of monastic life, from his cell to the chapel to the refectory and back. However, one day he was tricked into leaving his cell without it: a fellow novice had cried, 'Fire!' When he returned to his cell, realising that what fire there may have been had been rapidly

extinguished, he could not find his stick. Turning the room upside down and shouting as he did so, it dawned on him that this had perhaps been the objective of his fellow novice rousing him out of his cell. He therefore petitioned the Abbot who responded simply: 'Let this be a lesson to you.'

ICTs as possessed

One monk of this group used an example to illustrate the 'official' position of the monastery towards ICTs. Father Asaph, when asked about technology referred to a series of apocalyptic frescoes outside the refectory in the cloister of another Athonite monastery, frescoes I had been fortunate to glimpse shortly beforehand: 'They are over four hundred years old, yet show the technology of today'. One fresco is described in detail by: 'The locust-like creatures symbolize jet-propelled airplanes; the mushroom-like cloud, the clouds formed by the explosion of atomic bombs; and the dead men, those who will die from wars involving such planes and bombs' (citation available but not provided as would comprise the monastery's anonymity). Father Asaph did not suggest that our contemporary technologies will cause the apocalypse – a view towards which others might tend, for instance, at Esphigmenou – rather that they are signs of the impending end time.

Another member of this group, Father Adrian, made a similar point with a different analogy. He told a tale about Panteleimonos, the Russian monastery on Mount Athos, the first part of which I've been unable to verify through other sources. In 1912 they installed a steam engine to power a wood saw, assisting them in preparing wood for both their own purposes but also for export. Shortly after the monastery was to suffer two catastrophes. A year later it was embroiled in a theological dispute which divided the monastery, required the intervention of Russian warships and troops and resulted in 833 monks being arrested and deported to Odessa (Speake, 2002). Another year later and the Great War commenced, ultimately leading to the Russian Revolution which cut-off the monastery from its cultural and political homeland and encouraged the Greek state to levy heavy taxes on the remaining monks. Within five years the monastery went from being

the largest, with 1,500 monks, to being on the point of closure (Speake, 2002). Father Adrian left it open as to whether the adoption of technology was causal: but the implication was such. On another occasion, through different religious terminology, that of demonic possession as opposed to eschatology, he reflected: 'There is something demonic about a robot which is cleverer than its master.'

ICTs as potentially sanctified

Father Nectan employed similar reasoning, but reached a slightly different conclusion, regarding ICTs. He considers that modern man resents being awakened from his blissful stupor; that he does not want to think, because television has taught him to hate thinking and he does not want to get beneath life's superficiality, because the modern culture makes him content to live the pampered life of a hungry consumer in a cage of materialism. The internet might in fact provide the means to access information which might challenge the mind, for it is not the linear one-way mode of television: it encourages man to seek answers to questions.

Other monks used different examples to make essentially the same point: that an ICT, even if made for ill, can be used for good. Father Brannoc told a tale about Vatopedi – one that I've been unable to verify via other sources. The site where the monastery now stands had once been occupied by an ancient Greek temple. The 'pagan stones' which comprised it were recycled in the building of the monastery, and thus 'redeemed'. Father Adrian proclaimed pithily: 'You could use a hammer to kill someone, but you can still use a hammer to build a house'.

***Doxa* and ideology**

A doxic society may be found where 'the established cosmological and political order is perceived not as arbitrary, that is, as one possible order among others, but as a self-evident and natural order' (Bourdieu et al., 1977: 166). As a consequence, in such a society questions concerning legitimacy do not get raised. These statements could very well have been written about IM.

However, with respect to other aspects of the doxic society the picture is not quite so clear. In a doxic society 'what is essential goes without saying because it comes without saying: the tradition is silent, not least about itself as a tradition' (Bourdieu et al., 1977: 167). Although at IM the tradition is unquestioned, it is relatively consciously appropriated by each monk in their formation. The fact that it is relatively conscious opens up the possibility of its strategic use, something which goes even further beyond Bourdieu and is explored in the next chapter.

In addition, for Bourdieu, *doxa* produces an unequal distribution of personal capital and a legitimization of such production: 'symbolic violence' (Bourdieu and Eagleton, 1992). Symbolic violence can do what political and police violence can do, it only does it more efficiently (Bourdieu and Wacquant, 1992). I would argue that spiritual and religious capital may be symbolic, but that there is not symbolic violence, at least with respect to ICTs. Religious capital is not prescriptive, as the various views in this section illustrate, and spiritual capital may even be considered permissive.

Meso-level resistance was the result of a digital choice, but the above interpretations do not particularly suggest that this was based upon the ideology embedded within the artefact itself. Compared to Esphigmenou where, for example, I discovered that any product with a barcode is neither bought nor accepted as a gift this is certainly so. Their position is both more complex and considered. In the case of the interpretation of ICTs as irrelevance, the monks do not assume that the objectives of the technology's designer or vendor are undesirable *per se*, but rather that there is no reason for IM to embrace them. Other interpretations, apart from ICTs as possessed, suggest their effects may well be negative, but not their nature. Thus, the resistance results in the prevention of a technology being adopted which would have an ongoing negative impact. It is not especially symbolic, as in the case of the resistance to ICTs enacted at the Liberal Studies Institute in Thessaloniki explored in chapter 1. It is actually creative, as the Abbot is attracted to values or ideals in preference to those represented by such new technologies. In this case resistance is as much about what the Abbot, and the monks, are attracted to as what they resist (Goldstein, 1994).

However, in general terms their resistance could still be considered as resulting from their own ideology (Dijk, 2006). Although they are not left-wing, many of the monks share an attitude with intellectuals identified previously as refusing to engage with ICT, despite being able to afford to do so (Haywood, 1998; Dijk, 2006). Their attitude is primarily because of the implications of ICTs for traditional patterns of work and life; less an aesthetic sensibility, a rejection of the reductionist, linear and logical nature of computing (Turkle, 1995; Turkle, 2005), or a consequence of the contrast between the 'hard' nature of the machine and the 'soft' nature of the humans expected to use them (Norman, 1993). This resistance also differs in respect of the form it takes to that previously identified amongst left-wing intellectuals: this resistance is not informal, individual and passive (Haywood, 1998) but rather formal, collective and active (at least at the beginning of my fieldwork).

Whilst in the 'normal' world it may be true that: 'new media... is presented as a means to attaining utopia, akin to the relationship between religious ritual and paradise' (Karim, 2001: 113-114), religious ritual, and its associated ontological framework, is still itself considered the path to paradise on Mount Athos. In the monastery there is no area where narrow rationality has been established as acceptable (as in the system-lifeworld distinction); little ground has been ceded to modernism (Avgerou, 2002). Instead there exists a strong, local, situated rationality (Avgerou, 2002; Avgerou and McGrath, 2007).

6.6 Summary and conclusions

In this chapter I address my third subsidiary question (SQ3). I do this by reading my ethnographic data, gathered as described in chapter 4, through Bourdieu's *habitus* and associated concepts, explored in detail in chapter 3. I began in section 6.2 by describing the general monastic *habitus* of IM by focusing on key events in the vocation of a monk – their arrival, formation and repose – and significant shapers of their day-to-day existence – the fasts and feasts of the liturgical calendar. In the next section, 6.3, I explored the quantity and distribution of capitals which the *habitus* largely

reproduces. These capitals constitute the organisational subfield of IM which itself comprises part of the Orthodox monastic field: this I considered in section 6.4. Within the field religious capital is (still) dominant, although challenged, and it shapes the monks' interpretations of ICTs, which are then explored in section 6.5.

The general monastic *habitus* of IM is closely aligned to, and serves to strengthen, the positional dimension of social practice in IM, described and analysed in chapter 4. Religious and spiritual capital are dominant, as one might expect in a monastery, and their distribution, as well as those of social and cultural capital reflect to some extent the effective organisational hierarchy of IM. Further, in view of the lack of infrastructure back around 2006, whether mobile phone masts in range of IM or electricity within IM, there was very little possibility of resistance in the dispositional dimension. For this reason, unusually, the frontier of control favours the meso-level more than it does in the positional dimension where Father Alphege's role as electrician gave him scope to resist (see figure 6.6).

By 2009-10 the infrastructure has developed and, with a greater quantity of capital amongst the monks, there are exceptions to the reproduction of the dispositional dimension. Father Alphege, in his positional role as electrician has tasted the fruits of his labour and as a consequence developed his dispositions, especially his computing skills. In addition, both he and Father Oswald have very high social and cultural capital and relatively high religious capital. These two monks, through their embrace of ICTs, formed the micro-level resistance to the meso-level resistance to ICTs. Novices who possessed computing skills have also recently arrived. Even if with desire to use them at IM, they form a potential pool of fellow resisters. These exceptions thus push the lower frontier of control up in figure 6.6, and bring the upper frontier of control down as any demanded ICTs would reach IM from the macro-level. They also reveal how the monastic *habitus* at IM comes into conflict with the prior, pre-Athos, *habitus* of the monks with respect to resistance to, and engagement with, ICTs. This chapter thus contributes to the disagreement of Mouzelis with

Bourdieu over the possibility of intra-*habitus* contradictions (recognised by Mouzelis but not Bourdieu). I concur with Mouzelis that they can exist. Such a contradiction can also open up friction or conflict between positions and dispositions: agency cannot be reduced to the norms, roles and responsibilities imposed upon the actor (as in Mouzelis' reading of Parsons).

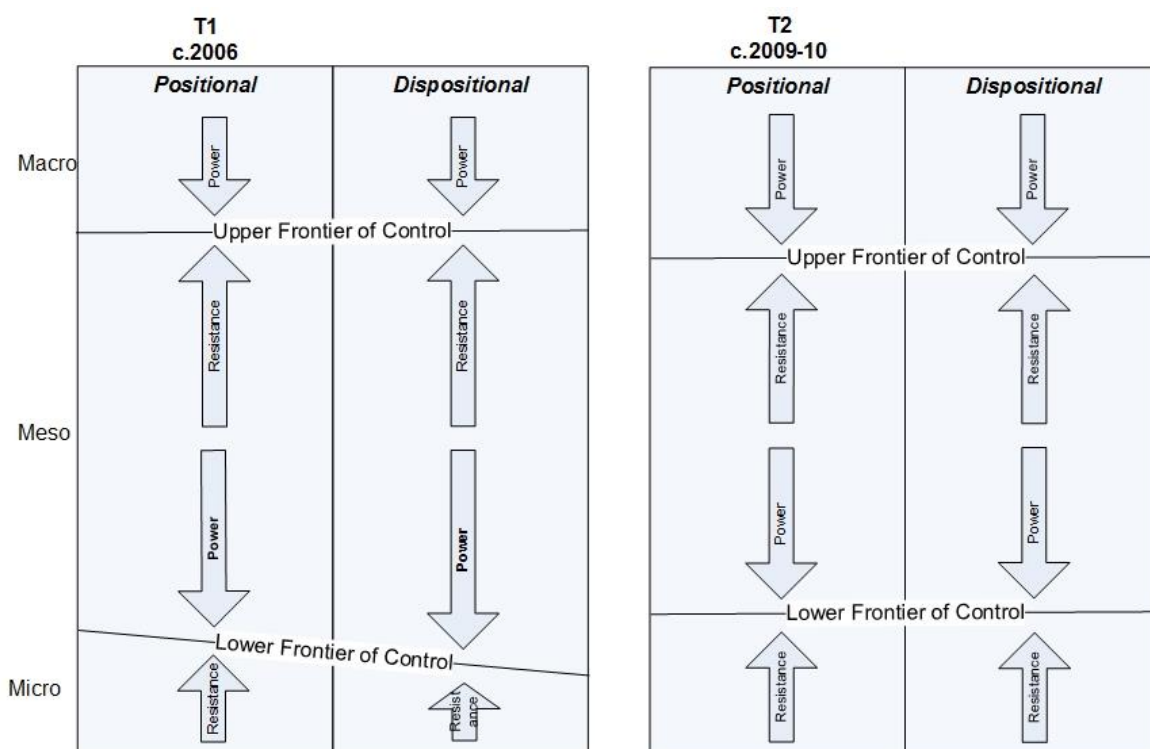


Figure 6.6 The changing positional and dispositional frontiers of control at IM

More generally, Mouzelis thinks that there is also the possibility of conscious, strategic action resulting from one's *habitus*; so as to incorporate this into his synthesis he turns to Elias. Mouzelis agrees with the major criticism of Bourdieu (Nash, 2003), that his theory 'underemphasizes the rational, calculative, and reflexive aspects of human action' (Mouzelis, 2008: 139). As a consequence: 'The *habitus* concept cannot account effectively for social practices unless its connections are shown with not only positional and institutional but also with interactive and figural structures' (Mouzelis, 2008: 139). In other words, if it is used in conjunction with the

other dimensions of social practice derived from Parsons and Elias. The figurational dimension, derived from Elias, is the focus of the next section chapter.

Chapter 7

The Figurational Dimension of an Athonite Monastery

'[P]ower is not an institution, and not a structure; neither is it a certain strength that we are endowed with; it is the name that one attributes to a complex strategical situation in a particular society'
(Foucault and Hurley, 1979: 93)

7.1 Introduction

In this chapter I consider the figurational dimension of the Athonite monastery: different constellations of positions and dispositions which form across time and space through the monks' reflective and strategic agency. It is in these specific instances of resistance in which normative expectations, the positional dimension, and the *habitus*, the dispositional dimension, are activated. It therefore builds upon the positional dimension of social practice described in chapter 5 and the dispositional dimension analysed in chapter 6 to the end of answering my fourth subsidiary question (SQ4): what constellations of positions and dispositions form and evolve? Elias' notion that power and resistance exist in a particular socio-spatio-temporal setting as a result of the – current and historic – figuration of positions and dispositions is an especially important one, as recognised by Mouzelis (1995; 2008). It is also one which aligns with the quotation from Foucault above and will shape each section of this chapter. I draw on Elias' other concepts of established and outsider relations, unintended consequences, *habitus* (as stated in chapter 3 his definition of this differs to that of Bourdieu) as relevant.

In section 7.2 I explore current and historic figurations of meso-level resistance towards macro-level power, specifically that of the resistance of IM, and especially the Abbot, to: the Holy Community, concerning a desktop computer; and Vodafone, concerning a mobile phone mast. These instances of resistance reveal the importance of the other monastic communities on Athos

and I go on to specifically consider the figuration comprising the monastic community of IM and Orthodox monastic communities elsewhere, a meso- to meso-level figuration, in 7.3. These different monastic *habiti* elsewhere, of which the monks are aware, have the possibility of shaping future resistance or embrace of ICTs by IM. The focus of the chapter then shifts to figurations of micro-level resistance towards meso-level power in 7.4. These also feature the Abbot but now in relation to particular monks of IM: Father Alphege, Brother Aidan and Father Oswald. Next I consider relations between the monastic community of IM and the non-monastic unpaid guest workers within its walls, a primarily micro-level figuration, in 7.5. Finally, in section 7.6 I draw conclusions about the figurational dimension of IM and relate the findings back to the disagreement of Mouzelis with Bourdieu over the possibility of conscious, strategic action resulting from one's *habitus* (recognised by Mouzelis but not Bourdieu). I concur with Mouzelis that such action is possible, although found to be relatively infrequent in this social context.

7.2 Meso- to macro-level figurations

In keeping with the figurational approach, which emphasises the agency of lower-level actors, this section focuses on how a meso-level actor, IM, for which one can generally read the Abbot, resists various macro-level actors. This is in contrast to the positional dimension, where the primary focus for these levels is how the macro- structures the meso-level, as in section 5.2. Following Elias' historical analysis of power, and that of others following in his steps, each subsection will analyse a specific figurational game of power and resistance, breaking developments, as it plays out, into rounds.

IM and the Holy Community

As mentioned throughout chapter 4 and in section 5.2 the *diamonitirion*, a visa-like document, controls entry to the Monks' Republic. This system was introduced as a response to the view of the governing monasteries that the ease with which one could get to the Mountain was resulting in too many pilgrims for the monasteries to provide hospitality for, unless they changed their nature

and way of life. In addition, the income from these, detailed in section 5.2, helps sustain the administrative functioning of the Mountain. As well as the set number of general-purpose *diamonitirion*, valid for one night at any three monasteries, monasteries may also issue letters of invitation for a *diamonitirion* only valid for their own monastery, for example, to regular visitors whether workers, scholars, postulants or benefactors.

Round 1

To be efficient and effective the restricting, and granting of, *diamonitiria* necessitates the use of ICTs. This was a realisation that the Holy Community had come to at the turn of the third millennium (the exact years reported to me have varied). Various benefits of an ICT system were presented to IM's representative in Karyes. At its most basic, it would be able to print a *diamonitirion* in Ouranoupolis, the port for ferries to Mount Athos where the Pilgrims' Office has a branch, based upon information provided in Thessaloniki at the main Pilgrims' Office. By connecting the monasteries to this system they would not need to separately issue letters of invitation to those visiting just one monastery for a longer period of time. Further, the Holy Community could assess how frequently an individual has visited the mountain and record 'no shows' where someone has reserved a place and then not arrived to pick up the *diamonitirion* in Ouranoupolis. This might inform a limit on the number of visits a pilgrim might make in a given timeframe, or lead to a higher *diamonitirion* charge. It would be possible to easily manage the number of people due to enter Athos on a particular day, and thus prevent overcrowding on the ferry and bus services. One could even manage the origin of the visitors, a perennial issue of contention between the Slavic and Hellenic Orthodox communities (Speake, 2002). To this end, as mentioned in section 5.2, an ICT system was commissioned and desktop computers were purchased for each monastery.

Round 2

In practice the system is far from efficient and effective, even in Thessaloniki where, when requesting my third *diamonitirion* at the Pilgrims' Office, the system was demonstrated to me. There they use an A4 page-per-day diary to record the names – and faith – of pilgrims due to enter Athos on a particular day, to see how many places have been reserved. After they have written the name in the diary they enter the name in an electronic database. In my case, a record already existed from my previous visits, detailing my passport number and that I was an Orthodox Christian doing a PhD. These details are used to provide the information for the printed *diamonitirion*, to assess how frequently an individual has visited the mountain and to record 'no shows' where someone has reserved a place and then not arrived to pick up the *diamonitirion* in Ouranoupolis. These latter two features, although demonstrated, did not seem to inform any decisions. There is no limit to how often a man may visit the Mountain, and no penalty if one reserves a place and does not arrive. To me it seemed a relatively simple step to query the database to discover how many people were due to enter Athos on a particular day, rather than use the diary – which was redundant. However, this was not demonstrated.

At Ouranoupolis, too, the main port on the 'mainland' for Mount Athos, there is further automation in the branch of the Pilgrims' Office. Prior to the new system there had already been some automation (see figure 7.1 for an example provided by a pilgrim from 1999). The basic, common, text of the *diamonitirion* had been typed and mass-printed along with several scanned elements: the postage-like stamp in the top right (indicating the category of *diamonitirion* and the price paid), the seal of *Theotokos* top-centre, comprising originally of four different stamps each held by the representatives of the four monasteries comprising the Holy *Epistasia* for the year, and those same representatives' signatures at the bottom. Others elements had to be handwritten – pilgrim's name and ID number – or physically stamped: the issue number, date of entry, religion and number of nights of validity.

Following the new system, those handwritten and physically stamped elements have all been computerised. As figure 7.2 shows, in contrast to this, the seal issued at Karyes, the capital of Mount Athos, to those pilgrims requesting extensions still requires a physical stamp by the representative of the highest-ranked of the four monasteries comprising the Holy *Epistasia* for the year and their original signature. Apart from having to make a trip to the capital and back, this is why obtaining the extension takes so long!

Figure 7.1 Diamonitirion from 1999

Figure 7.2 Diamonitirion from 2008

Of course, linking the main Pilgrims' Office in Thessaloniki, where requests for general-purpose *diamonitiria* are authorised and logged, to its branch in Ouranoupolis, where *diamonitiria* are issued, was only one objective of the Holy Community's ICT system. The other was to link both of these to the twenty monasteries where they separately log, authorise and issue letters of invitation to those visiting just their monastery, often for a longer period of time.

Round 3

As the Holy Community in Karyes, at which the monastery has a representative, had agreed that all monasteries should participate in the new *diamonitirion* invitation scheme, IM duly received its allotted desktop. However, the network which such a system technically required to work was not feasible at the time, and the political will was lacking. It is not clear that if it had been technically feasible it would have been used. Lapointe and Rivard (2005) found that physicians not only resist systems which diminish their autonomy and decision-making power, but also systems – such as electronic patient records – which simply reveal their behaviour or practices to other groups such as nurses or pharmacists. The Abbots may well have perceived this system as giving visibility and potentially control of their issuing of *diamonitiria* to the Pilgrims' Office. Such centralisation might similarly diminish their autonomy and decision-making power. I discovered the computer at the end of my second visit by asking the rather leading question: 'There's not even a computer in the Abbot's office?', after finding none elsewhere. It is used to store the names of those who have applied via IM itself for a monastery-specific *diamonitiron*, as opposed to one of the set number of general-purpose *diamonitiria* managed by the Pilgrims' Office. This is required by the Holy Community, even though such data is not inspected or shared with the Holy Community. The desktop is also used for writing the occasional letter. In this context, paper-based invitation-issuing preceded the desktop computer.

As the desktop was so little used, either for its intended purpose or others, so the individual member responsible, the Abbot himself, ultimately decided not to adopt the artefact in its complete sense. In terms of Coetsee's (1999) taxonomy of resistance behaviours by degree, that of the Abbot can be seen as passive resistance. Whilst the fact that IM accepted the desktop might be seen as a goal for the Holy Community, ultimately IM was the winner, for it avoided the attention overt resistance would have elicited, and avoided, for the time being, the impact of genuine adoption of ICT.

IM and Vodafone

IM lies at the end of a long ravine which winds its way up from the coast. Behind it stands a ridge way which runs the length of the peninsula down to the Mount itself and which divides the estates of the monasteries of the east and the west coast. A better location for evading the reach of mobile phone masts could not have been contemplated. Or so it seemed.

Round 1

As mentioned in section 5.2, in 2005 Vodafone approached the Abbot about erecting a mobile phone mast on IM territory towards the top of the ridge way. He said: 'No!'. The monastery had been offered payment, 'a sum neither small nor so substantial' (Father Alphege). However, to use the terms of the positional dimension of chapter 5, the integration function trumped the adaptation function: preserving the solitude of the monastery, a prerequisite for its spiritual strength, outweighed the temporary financial gain on offer. This approach paralleled that towards EU restoration funds, and the Abbot's stance had the support of the Council of Elders.

Vodafone then identified an alternative location, again on the ridgeway, but towards the top on the other side. They therefore approached the Abbot of IM2, the monastery on the opposite coast whose land borders that of IM. He also said: 'No!'. Various views exist as to why: perhaps, as a wealthier monastery, 'a sum neither small nor so substantial' (Father Alphege) meant little to it; perhaps, although it had mobile phone coverage in its monastery, due to its coastal setting, it did not want to do anything to extend the pervasiveness of mobile phones. The most common view, however, was that the refusal came after consultation with the Abbot of IM, and that shaped as they were by the same Spiritual Father (Elder David), the Abbot of IM2 understood and supported Abbot Wilfrid. It seemed as if IM had won.

Round 2

Vodafone, however, had other ideas and the game was still in play. They then identified a site slightly south along the ridge way, which although behind IM, is on the land of the next monastery

down the coast from IM: IM3. Its Abbot said: 'Yes'. Father Oswald thought that perhaps this was because the mast would not serve his monastery: there is a peak, perpendicular to the ridge way, separating IM3 from the mast.

The envelopment of a mobile phone mast in a mock Byzantine tower near the capital, Karyes, is further evidence of Vodafone enacting a game of 'cat and mouse'. Had IM negotiated with Vodafone in the first place, such a mast might have been a possibility in this instance, too. Instead, it is a conventional mast that stands prominently behind IM.

Round 3

Vodafone's lead was further extended once the mast became operational. In 2009 IM took out a subscription for one mobile phone with Vodafone; by 2015 IM had over twenty smartphone subscriptions. Far from Vodafone paying IM to host its mast, IM is paying Vodafone to use the mast. In terms of Coetsee's (1999) taxonomy of resistance behaviours by degree, active resistance can be seen in the initial formation of a coalition in opposition to the Vodafone mast and the voicing of opposition to ICTs. But now, at most, there is meso-level resigned acceptance – not a resistance behaviour according to Coetsee. The detail of how this came about is further explored in section 7.4 as the outcome of a specific micro- to meso-level figuration.

As these specific meso- to macro-level figurations show, meso-level actors' resistance of macro-level actors' power is complex. At any one time resistance may be intertwined with obedience, for example IM accepting its allotted desktop as part of the Holy Community's new *diamonitirion* invitation scheme yet never using it for its intended purpose. This was prefigured by IM commemorating the holder of the office of the Patriarch of Constantinople in its Divine Liturgies, yet holding these same liturgies in accordance with the old calendar abandoned by the Patriarchate. Further, over time its strength and nature changes. In the past IM has refused to commemorate the Patriarch, resisting the calendar change, and other innovations, more overtly. In the figuration with Vodafone, the Abbot's overt resistance was worked around, and ultimately

outplayed, by Vodafone, with enormous significance for IM. Further figurations of power and resistance featuring the Abbot follow in section 7.4.

This figurational approach, which emphasises the agency of lower level actors, contrasts with the positional dimension, where the primary focus is how the macro- structures the meso-level, as in section 5.2. One of the macro-level actors featured there, features here also: the Holy Community, the decision-making body of the twenty monasteries. However, one further macro-level actor features here, which does not exist in a hierarchical relationship to IM: Vodafone. Whilst a non-hierarchical, inter-organisational figuration could be read as a meso-level one, the global reach, scale and power of Vodafone makes it a macro-level actor as far as this, non-hierarchical, dimension is concerned. The next section is concerned with IM's figurations with organisations of similar reach, scale and power: other Orthodox monasteries.

7.3 Meso-level figurations with Orthodox monastic *habiti* elsewhere

Although the focus of the above section was meso- to macro-level figurations, in each specific figuration other monasteries on the Holy Mountain were significant in the way the games played out. Connections between IM and other monasteries are worthy of specific attention as it is through these that the monks become aware of different monastic *habiti* elsewhere. In this section I first describe the connections which exist between this monastery and those elsewhere on the Holy Mountain and beyond it. I then outline how the different monastic *habiti* elsewhere on the Holy Mountain result in a different degree of engagement with and/or resistance towards ICTs, as observed during my visits to the other monasteries of the mountain between 2008 and 2010. When learnt of, and encountered by the monks of IM, these practices posed, and to some extent still pose, challenging alternatives to the ICT practices of IM.

The monks speak warmly of S1, S2, IM4 and IM5. The reason for the warm mentions of S1 and IM4 became apparent in conversation with Father Neot. He explained that in 1979 there were only five monks remaining in IM. I realised the significance of this figure: six is the minimum number for a

monastery to operate, according to the rules of the Mountain. Any fewer and the Supervisors of the Holy Mountain ask an Abbot from another monastery – usually from elsewhere in the Mountain, but occasionally from outside, as in the case of Vatopedi – to send a group of disciples to repopulate the ‘dying’ monastery. In response to me stating that I had sensed a similar atmosphere in IM as in IM4, Father Neot, one of the three priests including the Abbot, explained that the spirit of IM was that of: first, its Abbot, Wilfrid; second, his Spiritual Father, Elder Kenneth, who was Abbot of IM4 from 1973 until 1990; third, his Spiritual Father, Elder David, of S1, whose spiritual teachings and writings are known of in some form, however fragmentary, by most Greek Orthodox. In addition, immediately outside the main building of IM a monk has moved from the S1. He has, for three years, been transforming an outbuilding into a *kelli*. As at a skete he will attend the main Church on Sundays and on major feast days. Down in the olive groves there is a house that a layman has renovated. He is resident at it for six months of the year.

Several of the pilgrims I met made an explicit comparison between IM and Esphigmenou. Both are traditional, resisting innovation. Certainly on the surface they appear similar in their lack of technology, however, behind this lays significant theological difference. In one of the storerooms I did find a rather beautiful watercolour of Esphigmenou, hanging above the containers and freezers for Father Illtud’s octopus catch. Father Oswald, who was showing me the stores, was keen to point out that it was not his painting. There is some admiration for the resistance that Esphigmenou has displayed, however it does not go beyond that. Just as I admire IM but do not wish to join it, so some monks admire Esphigmenou, but do not actually intend to join their zealous stance.

As well as connections to other monasteries on Athos, IM, like most Athonite monasteries, has a *metochi*, a dependent monastery (literally, an estate). In this case it is a convent in a suburb of Thessaloniki. The relationship is a spiritual as well as legal one. During my first visit to IM, Abbot Wilfrid and Father Alban were both in residence at this dependent convent for some of the time. This was because of the impending celebration of new calendar Christmas (the convent, being

outside the self-governing territory, must follow the new calendar). As nuns cannot be priests in the Orthodox Church, these priests from IM were required to hear confessions, both of the nuns and their spiritual children. There are many lay people in Thessaloniki, both men and women, who look to IM's priests for spiritual guidance and inspiration, and specifically at that time of year, for their blessing to receive Holy Communion at Christmas. The Abbess of the convent, Abbess Winefrid, is a (blood) sister of Father Neot, the third priest of the three at IM. Finbar explained that many of the monks have sisters in the *metochi*. Later I discovered that Father Felix – who makes the bread at IM – has two sisters in the convent, as well as a brother who is a monk elsewhere on Athos.

In addition to this formal relationship to a monastery outside the Holy Mountain, there are also informal relationships to other monasteries, some of which are *metochia* of other Athonite monasteries. For instance, Elder Kenneth, the afore-mentioned Abbot of IM4 from 1973 until 1990, founded many monasteries in the US, particularly in Arizona. Father Neot has visited one of these, and monks and lay people from Arizona have visited IM. Three of the monks mentioned to me the monastery of St. John the Baptist, in Essex. This was originally founded by a monk, Elder Sophrony, from Panteleimonos, the Russian-speaking monastery on Mount Athos. Now also under the control of the Œcumenical Patriarch, Father Neot has visited it on two occasions.

There are also more regular opportunities for the monks of IM to engage with monks from other monasteries. A delegation of one or two monks, usually but not always priests, attends primary and secondary patronal feasts in the other monasteries, and even at sketes, on the mountain. It was through such a delegation to the patronal feast of S2 that the monks of IM came to learn of the two English monks within that brotherhood. Monks meet and talk with each other on the ferry, whether on the weekly supply run up to the mainland, or down to Daphne, the port for the capital Karyes where the monastery maintains its 'embassy'. In such a way, I myself managed to meet one monk, Father Trumbert, in three different places: once upon a ferry, once at the secondary patronal

festival of IM5 and once at his own monastery. Although not all the monks from IM leave the monastic grounds, news from outside can quickly spread through formal means, such as the daily council (the *Synodikon*) of the (monastic) community, and informal such as discussion in breaks in the olive groves or conversations outside the refectory after dinner. This was evidenced by the whole community seemingly learning of my presence and purpose at the monastery within a day. Finally they may also learn of practices elsewhere through the stream of pilgrims who travel between the monasteries staying one night at each. There follow five examples of different *habiti* in relation to the embrace of, or resistance towards, ICTs.

The monk demurred from receiving my fellow visitor's gift of two boxes of Bulgarian herbal tea. Reading this as a polite reluctance to accept hospitality, the pilgrim said: 'No, please, accept it'. The monk proceeded to explain that he could not take them due to the boxes featuring barcodes. The pilgrim offered to take the tea out of the boxes, but no, this was not acceptable. This was on my first, and only, visit to the unofficial monastery of Esphigmenou in November 2008: unofficial because the Œcumenical Patriarch has created a new monastery that does commemorate him and which legally owns (unofficial) Esphigmenou's assets. This position on barcodes extends beyond, but has its origins in, Mount Athos. In both Greece (Molokotos-Liederman, 2007) and Russia (Verkhovsky, 2002) there have been large-scale popular movements, supported by their Orthodox churches, against, respectively, the introduction of new national identity cards and personal tax identification numbers. In each case, at least in part, this was because of the alleged incorporation of the number '666', whether visibly or invisibly, in their barcodes. In both Greece and Russia sources from the Holy Mountain have been cited in support of these movements, for example, research at Gregoriou monastery into barcodes (Interfax, 2014) and a pamphlet written and circulated by the late monk Paisios of Mount Athos (Clark, 2011). Then known as a *gerontas*, or Elder, a term used to describe a monk revered as holy on the mountain and elsewhere in the Greek Church, as of 2015 he is recognised as a Saint by the Œcumenical and Moscow Patriarchates.

Despite Elder Paisios and Abbot Wilfrid both being monks together in the late 1950s, this was not a view taken by any of the monks at IM, although they were well aware of it.

‘The internet is both a treasury and a toilet: it depends upon you which you will find’. Thus spoke Father Osyth of S1. He loved films and spoke of *My Left Foot*, *Rainman*, *A Beautiful Mind*, *The Lives of Others* and *Ostrov* (released in the UK and US as *The Island*). About each he had something to say about its relation to real life, whether historical or contemporary. About the last, *Ostrov*, he marvelled at how this film, about a *starets* on an island – the Russian equivalent of a *gerontas* – had received the rating of 8.5 at The Internet Movie Database (IMDb; <http://www.imdb.com>). This site he uses to read about films whilst on Athos, selecting those that sound interesting to add to a list. This list he gives to friends when he visits Athens or Thessaloniki and they bring to him plastic bags full of DVDs for what he described as ‘DVD therapy’. He said for him the cinematographer is an author using celluloid instead of paper. He also spoke knowledgeably about contemporary books and plays, including a recent Belgian one which is to be made into a film. At that moment I was with a Belgian pilgrim who was amazed and impressed. Afterwards he commented that the Father has ‘a very free mind’. On parting Father Osyth insisted on giving his business card, which includes his email address. Technology, it seemed, enabled him to make connections, literally and metaphorically, with his spiritual children in the world. Whilst I observed this first hand, the Father is well-known on the mountain and beyond, where he is himself sometimes described as one of the few contemporary *gerontes*, or Elders, of the mountain. The monks of IM primarily learnt of him and his practices through the monk who had moved from his skete to an outbuilding of IM, and who attends the main Church on Sundays and on major feast days.

ICTs are used at some monasteries to help facilitate – and control – the reception of pilgrims. Upon arrival at the gatehouse of Vatopedi monastery one is asked to produce one’s *diamonitirion* together with a print-out of the confirmation email which they send in response to a booking request. Although the email comes from an identified address, it is not possible to reply to it for

one's response just bounces back. Here the monastery benefits from the low cost of email communication whilst not suffering from the spam that might result from the low cost of email communication for others. The monk on duty in the gatehouse inspects the *diamonitirion*, and if it is in date and an original, calls the guest master to verify the accommodation booking. Only after this has been done is a pilgrim allowed through into the monastery. After arrival in the guesthouse one is seated and must wait until being called to the reception desk to check-in. Here the monks sit behind a tall, large desk upon which sits a computer. This is set-up to receive the faxes requesting accommodation and send the emails confirming it. My fax, having been called-up, provides the basis for a conversation to ascertain my requirements such as what information I might need or whom it might be useful for me to speak to. At this point they also outlined their mobile phone policy. In IM6 the control and reception of pilgrims is even further automated: one may only enter through the external gate of the gatehouse. To pass through the internal gate of the gatehouse one has to press a button on an intercom which calls the guest master's mobile phone. After such a call they may – or may not, if there is a liturgy or meal taking place, as I discovered – come to the gate and enable entry. In contrast, at IM, there is open access from the road to the guest quarters and the rest of the monastery, and with respect to the *diamonitirion*, I was told on my presentation of it that: 'You don't need that here'.

Whilst staying at IM7 I was invited into the office of a priest, Father Edwin. I sat outside on a black leather sofa, awaiting the priest to become available. I walked into the office upon a ceramic tiled floor, to sit on another black leather sofa. In front of me was a large bookcase – with many academic books in English and a large solid wood desk. On top of this was a 23" flat screen monitor and printer, whilst behind the desk sat the monk on his black leather desk chair. Elsewhere around the room there could be found a scanner, fax and photocopier. The room could easily be mistaken for an academic's office or even an academic's dream office. Indeed, within it Father Edwin had recently completed his PhD and prepared a manuscript from it for publication by the monastery's press. At IM8 there is a computer in the library, but monks do not have their own computers.

In a monastic vehicle on the way back from the olive groves in December 2009, Brother Dunstan, the driver, explained a positive use of computers. Beside the two small icons on the dashboard was a similar-sized picture of Abbot Wilfrid. Kevin asked how he got it. The monk explained that a photo had been taken with a digital camera by a monk at IM4, who then imported this into a computer, re-sized it, printed it and then laminated it using another machine. All the monks (Father Neot and Brother Egbert were also in the truck) were clearly impressed. For those monks who had moved with the Abbot from IM4, or simply felt connected to IM4 through those who had, such an example would be powerful. Father Alphege, originally from IM4, after explaining his (counter-)interpretation of ICTs, rhetorically asked me: 'They have computers at [IM4] don't they? ...Well then, I don't believe we should be any different here'.

Relationships between monasteries, at the same hierarchical level, and within the same Parsonian system function, latent pattern maintenance, are not considered significant in the positional dimension. Likewise, other monasteries, being parallel *habiti*, are not considered significant in the dispositional dimension. The figurational dimension brings these connections to the fore; this is significant as it was through these that the monks became aware of different monastic *habiti* elsewhere, including a different degree of engagement with and/or resistance towards ICTs. When learnt of, and encountered by the monks of IM, these practices posed, and to some extent still pose, challenging alternatives to the interpretations of ICTs by monks of IM described previously, for example in section 6.5. The next section explores cases where such alternatives have resulted in monks challenging meso-level authority.

7.4 Micro- to meso-level figurations

Resistance by meso-level actors, being in the middle, is subject to challenge both by macro-level and micro-level actors. Section 7.2 explored meso- to macro-level figurations whereby IM challenged, and was itself challenged by, macro-level innovations. This section explores micro- to

meso-level figurations. As in 7.2 each subsection will analyse a specific figurational game of power and resistance, identifying the players and recounting the twists and turns of the game.

Father Alphege and Abbot Wilfrid

During my visits to IM in 2009-10 I categorised the general interpretations of ICTs by the monks: only one of the five categories was potentially positive. One monk, at least, in their views and behaviours, seemed keener to embrace ICTs.

Round 1

My Greek mobile phone network was Cosmote, not Vodafone, so I remained undisturbed whilst in IM. Several of the monks, whilst not having mobile phones themselves, recognised their utility. They were also familiar enough with such technology to use them, as mentioned in section 5.4, when on St. Nicholas' Day Kevin and Father Teilo were able to use my phone, without need for instruction.

It took me some time to uncover the difference between the 'official' line on ICTs and the reality of their use within IM. When Father Oswald approached me on the last day of my second visit he said he had just been trying to call his cousin – a doctoral student at Oxford – to ask him for his email address to give me. As I had been sitting outside in sight of the public card phone or in my room above from this phone since the end of the morning service, it suggested that he must have used an alternative phone i.e. a mobile. Informed by subsequent discoveries on my next and final visit I would surmise this would have been the mobile of Father Alphege. This seemed to help interpret his smile and laugh when, the day before, I asked him if any monks had mobile phones.

A similar revelation occurred regarding the existence of computers in the monastery. When I asked Father Oswald directly if there were any computers in the monastery – to verify what Brother George had told me previously – he replied: 'No'. I asked him: 'Not even in the Abbot's office?' – the place where I had by this stage deduced the computer for recording the names of pilgrims requesting *diamonitirion* must live. He responded that there is one there, for writing letters. On

my last day we spoke of a mutual friend, Malo from the Friends of Mount Athos, and his love of photography: last time he visited he took over seven hundred photographs. Father Oswald said he would show me but for the fact that they were on a CD. I asked: 'Why did Malo leave a CD when there is no computer to view them on?' He replied: 'Oh, Father Alphege has one.' This helped to explain his need for electricity in his cell, of which Father Alphege had already informed me. Only on my penultimate visit was I invited to see this for myself.

On entering, what first struck me was the sound of Greek pop-rock emanating from a HiFi above Father Alphege's desk. The Holy Mountain, in keeping with the teaching of the Church Fathers, uses only vocal music in Church as instrumental music is considered to be a source of secular pleasure – drinking, dancing, laughter and shouting – rather than spiritual growth. In addition the Holy Mountain extends this ban across the whole peninsula, so it is forbidden to play or listen to a musical instrument anywhere. Whilst I had heard radios played by guest workers (discussed further below in section 7.5), this was more often for football commentary than for music; and this, of course, had been confined to the guest wing of the monastery complex. Next I was struck by the laptop and then the mobile phone. He justified his acquisition of them via a Greek saying: 'The farmer must taste first the fruits of his labour'. I interpreted this to mean that as an electrician he must familiarise himself with, and test, electrical goods before letting them loose on others. In the way he justified this, and his explanation of the process of their acquisition, through his eliciting the approval of the Abbot and then the sourcing of them via the Steward, their adoption seemed to be the result of conscious strategizing on Father Alphege's part, resulting from his prior *habitus*. This accords with Elias' understanding of *habitus* in contrast to that of Bourdieu (at least in Mouzelis' reading of Bourdieu), where the *habitus* manifests itself unconsciously.

Also evident in this case was the Elias' concept of unintended consequences, something that features both as a consequence of the exercise of power, and as an impact on power relations. The adoption of a mobile phone, specifically, created a different division of labour, and set of power

relations, to that which pertained in the monastery previously. As the mobile phone was in Father Alphege's possession, he increasingly became the means by which the priests of the monastery, especially the Abbot, when resident at the dependent convent in Thessaloniki, communicated with the monastery. As custodian of the phone, he became no longer simply the electrician monk of the monastery, a role the laptop did not adjust, but also the 'fixer' of the organisation more broadly for he became the conduit through which the Abbot operated whilst he was in Thessaloniki. I witnessed this when Father Alphege took a phone call from the Abbot in my presence, and he went off in search of the kitchen steward monk to re-arrange the number of places to be laid and portions to be made. This did not result in Father Alphege resisting the mobile, after all, he had himself initiated its adoption. However, he did refer to its custodianship being a burden at least as much as a benefit.

The downsides for employees possessing employer-provided mobile phones have been explored in detail elsewhere: one is the encroachment of work further into life, whether evenings, weekends or holidays (Russell, 2012). In this situation the 'employee' does not have evenings, weekends or holidays apart from the monastery: there is no ready distinction between work and life in the first place. What was the case, though, was that the balance and division between activities which comprise the role of the monk had been broken. The monastic day, beginning at sunset, is divided into discrete activities: participating in the liturgy, attending the synod, conducting labour, eating meals, resting and conducting personal devotion. Whilst the Abbot would, of course, be generally aware of this structure and sensitive to it, he did call Father Alphege in the allocated time for rest and personal devotion. As Marx and Engels state (1975: 166): 'The handmill gives you society with the feudal lord; the steam-mill, society with the industrial capitalist.' This is because '[t]he handmill presupposes a different division of labour from the steam-mill' (Marx and Engels, 1975: 183). Mobile phones are inherently structured prior to use in that they presuppose a person is available to answer them when they are called: they make for a changed form of monastic life for those who possess them.

At this point, in 2010, use of the mobile phone seemed to be hidden. Seemingly few monks were aware of the crucial role it played in the life of the monastery, for it was kept from view, enabling them to continue to live in an artisan-idyll. In this sense, it paralleled the mobile phone mast installed by Vodafone for the capital, Karyes, encapsulated within a mock Byzantine tower. However, Father Alphege's custodianship of the mobile, together with the provision of electricity within his cell, was certainly no secret to regular visitors to the monastery who made it a common stopping point. This raised the power and significance of the role of electrician to that of member of the Council, especially when combined with Father Alphege's status as the only native English-speaking monk, and therefore key to the monastery's relations to the world beyond Greece.

At the time of my penultimate visit I felt this idiosyncratic ICT adoption raised three key issues for IM. First, the difference between ICT practice and the official line of the monastery which may mean that monks, assuming they learn of Father Alphege's technology-laden cell, are unable to toe the line. Second, it introduces a digital divide within the monastery between the monks. Third, it potentially disrupts the cenobitic principle of all property being held in common.

Round 2

With over twenty mobile phones within the monastery, in 2015, Father Alphege is no longer the monastery's message-taker and go-between. In fact, he is also no longer the monastery's electrician. He explained that he had eventually learnt to accept the limitations of his age – such humility took time he felt, due to his pride. When I asked if this meant he was now training Father Botolph, Father Oswald's younger brother, he replied: 'Not exactly - Father Botolph is very good, and can do many things that I couldn't'. He surmised that it requires youth. Certainly proper electric sockets were now not only in Father Alphege's cell but throughout the monks' cells, enabling the smartphones to be charged ready for action.

As before, in Father Alphege's cell, there is a mobile phone and a laptop. However, both have been upgraded. The Samsung smartphone, although four and a half years old, he informed me, was

clearly mobile internet-ready. Five years previously Father Alphege had told me that there would never be internet in IM, but I thought I would ask, anyway, if he had used the mobile internet. Indeed he had: he had signed-up for a 100MB for one month package (the cost of €3, as with the subscription and the calls, being borne by the monastery) to help him organise a return visit of his Aunt from Australia to Greece. But he reinforced that a monk has no need of the internet: it's a distraction.

I faced Father Alphege when we spoke, although he was perpendicular to me, typing and clicking on his computer. Whilst such a configuration reminded me of an Orthodox confessional one, in such a situation he would be counting the knots of a prayer rope. I began to think that he might be addicted to his laptop. The purpose of the typing and clicking became apparent when he beckoned me over to look at a map of Cardiff and point out where exactly the Greek Church, which we had just been talking about, is located. He told me that his 'new' (since 2010) laptop has two encyclopaedias installed, both Encarta and Britannica. Such is the size of the 'offline' resources he uses, he has two additional hard-disk drives, one permanently connected to the laptop. In fact, such is his familiarity with hard-disk drives that it inspired an analogy based on them when we (re)met. Not immediately recognising me, he apologised, explaining that he would have seen thousands of pilgrims' faces in the intervening years and that the human mind is like a hard-disk drive: it only has a limited capacity and once full you have to overwrite the old memories to make space for the new. This analogy from Father Alphege's computing skills to express a fact of human existence was very different from the analogies from monks' religious capital used to interpret ICTs I captured in 2009-10 and recount in section 6.5.

The laptop was set-up on a table on a bamboo-blinded balcony, facing west. My table on the balcony was in fact a bar stool, with two cigarette lighters on it and some ash, which could be from guests smoking (illegally) within the monastic complex or the debris of cleaning an incense burner. The balcony was new – indeed, the entire cell had been remodelled since my last visit, with a wall

taken down to the adjoining cell, enabling a living and study area to be combined with the small pantry area to form one large room, the bedroom now being simply for sleep. Upon the shelves of the new desk stood a printer, widescreen monitor and leather chair. It looked like an office – but unlike Father Edwin of IM7, Father Alphege has only ever suggested or demonstrated the use of ICTs for consumption, not production. For the living area he had also acquired a sofa and a sideboard, replete with photos of Melbourne and an Australian flag.

The first key issue I felt, on my penultimate visit, Father Alphege's technology-laden cell raised for IM was that the difference between ICT practice and the official line of the monastery may mean that monks are unable to toe the line. This was at one level senseless in 2015 as there was no line of resistance to be toed: the Abbot 'had changed his mind' (Father Oswald). However, apart from Father Alphege, the interpretations of ICTs I heard about IM still conformed to my categorisation in section 6.5.

The second and third key issues from 2010 were related: that Father Alphege's adoption of ICTs introduces a digital divide within the monastery between the monks and that it potentially disrupts the cenobitic principle of all property being held in common. With over twenty mobile phones within IM you might think that isn't a digital divide: but twenty is one each for just less than half the monastery. At first I had assumed that the twenty mobiles were allocated to the monks who wanted to have one.

In response to my question if all the mobile phones in the monastery would change what it means to be a monk Father Alphege, seemingly definitively, said 'No'. However, he went on to clarify: 'Of course, though, we don't let young monks have them'. He went on to explain that when a young monk enters the monastery he is like an icon. The icon needs to be left outside for a few years, to be weathered by the wind and the rain. When the original image has faded, then a new image can be painted by the Abbot and the Fathers of the monastery. Then, once set, the monk can have a phone. Given ICTs, the new monk's original image would keep being refreshed – there would be

no blank piece of wood upon which the new image could be painted. Even after the new image is painted, we still have our own different characters. He explained that: 'It's like with children. You don't give one child the same as another. You give them what you think they need, not what they think they want. As we grow as monks, Christ becomes our friend, he gives us sustenance.'

Up until my final fieldwork visit, I had considered that the strength of the general monastic *habitus*, and therefore their disposition, would preclude ICT adoption. In this reinterpretation it is the strength of the monastic disposition, once the icon is painted, that permits ICT adoption. And it is Father Alphege's large quantity of cultural capital, including computing skills, and significant quantity of religious capital, which allows this reinterpretation to be made.

Brother Aidan and Abbot Wilfrid

Disembarking from the ferry on my penultimate fieldwork episode at IM I saw the novice Aidan waving at me from a truck, beckoning me over. The truck was there to pick-up large metal joists and other materials, for, as I later discovered, the rebuilding of the kitchen after a fire during my time back in the UK. As I approached I began to take off my rucksack, in anticipation of helping to load the truck. However, it was not for this purpose that he had summoned me. Aidan was smiling and wished to converse: a surprise as previously I had only managed to get a few words out of him.

We left the truck on foot, but instead of following the usual route, we departed down a road towards a neighbouring monastery. The elderly pilgrims with whom I had previously agreed to walk to the monastery were behind us and within sight. They whistled and shouted, gesticulating that we should be bearing right and not left. I checked again with Aidan in Greek that he was going to IM and he said, between laughs, yes. We then proceeded on a long walk through the olive groves, touring my past places of labour and encountering a couple of the fathers sitting up in the premier olive trees, pruning them. I didn't know what we were doing. Looking for someone? Or, as I hoped, joining the lunchtime gathering in the groves as it was just past 1pm? Or, as I feared from his laughs when I checked where we were going, was he playing a joke on me?

This fear increased as we approached and then crossed the road. Instead of re-joining the elderly pilgrims as they cut forward through the olive grove terraces on the road, we continued to walk along the olive grove terrace. However, five minutes later we encountered something I'd never seen before: the *kalderimi*¹² to IM which preceded the vehicular road. It wasn't on my map which supposedly lists every path, and some that no longer exist in my experience, and I'd never seen or heard mention of it before. It was covered by trees, which made it cooler to walk than the road in the relative heat of the midday April sun. The stones had been concreted over at some point, which made walking easier, at least in part. In one place the path had collapsed, falling down towards the road below. It was very straight and ultimately we arrived at IM at least twenty minutes before the elderly pilgrims.

Aidan was very taken with the path, which explained his 'wait and see' smile in the early stages of our ascent from the port, and he was clearly pleased when I called it a 'beautiful path' (in Greek, perhaps not the adjective I would have chosen in English). The *pièce de résistance* was a kind of picnic area he had set-up in the middle of the path: four chairs made from round slices of log with, in the middle, a table made from slightly thicker rounds of log topped by planks. In this little private spot he comes to pray, talking to Jesus Christ, and the Saints, as if they were sitting with him at the table.

The path emerges back into the upper olive groves, not far from IM, at the very spot where I had, on prior fieldwork episodes, seen him wandering off. On those visits I had judged him a rather work-shy monk who seemed to wander off whenever there was work to be done. Now I knew what he was doing. It is not so much that he is work-shy but that he is resisting going on the road, whether by foot or vehicle, and this explains why he would appear in the olive groves having not travelled with us. He, like Brother Egbert, mentioned in chapter 6, had chosen IM to escape the technology that defines, or at least shapes, modern life. However, Aidan goes beyond this, resisting

¹² An old, cobbled, mule trail.

technology to a greater extent than the monastery in general, and thus resisting IM's technology 'policy' from the opposing side of Father Alphege.

Although he made no mention of being inspired by monks elsewhere on the mountain, his position is, or at least was, not unique. The representative of the Saint Paul's to the Holy Community in Karyes had opposed very strongly the opening of the first road on Mount Athos, from Daphne to Karyes. This had been built in order to make it easier for the officials coming to the millennium celebrations, in 1963. 'True to his original position, he never got into a car on Mount Athos' (Hatzinikolaou and Makropoulos, 2007).

When I asked Aidan if the Abbot knew of his position, he replied that the Abbot loved all, and had given him his blessing. However, what had already become apparent on my penultimate visit, in 2010, was that, unlike the other two novices, Egbert and Dunstan, who I had also met on my first visit to IM, Aidan remained a novice. At the time of my last visit in 2015, this was still, quite exceptionally, the case. Further, his path was no longer so secret. Whilst the picnic area remains, it is now signposted from where it crosses the road, at the top of the olive groves, and where it reappears just outside the monastery. And the shade it now provides, at least in the midday July sun under which I walked from the harbour, is minimal: each year the Friends of Mount Athos, according to Father Alphege, are returning to cut back the trees and bushes and keep the path accessible.

Father Oswald and Abbot Wilfrid

There follow in this section two examples of micro-level to meso-level resistance by one of the monks, Father Oswald. Only one entails micro-level embrace of ICTs, but both are important in revealing more ways in which a monk's capitals may play out in practice. This is especially so as Father Oswald was the second resistor, after Father Alphege, of IM's meso-level resistance to ICTs.

In chapter 4, I detail how permission is required to leave the monastery. It did not sound like permission was often withheld, from what Father Oswald told me, but his case could be considered

somewhat special: his father has been friends with the Abbot for over forty-five years since they both lived and worked in Thessaloniki. Father Oswald was born in Athens and his family continue to live there but, although his mother phones up the Abbot requesting – and obtaining – permission for her son to leave the monastery to see her, he has not been home since he became a monk and instead meets her in Thessaloniki.

This first example of securing permission to travel to the ‘mainland’, may, of course, be considered a goal for Father Oswald’s mother rather than him! However, it shows that social capital has power, even in a monastic setting, and even over an Abbot. This gives support to the view of Foucault and Elias that power is far more polymorphous than others (Parsons and even Bourdieu) suggest. Further, it shows an imperviousness on Father Oswald’s part to the *habitus* which for others results in their lack of desire to leave IM, even briefly. As mentioned in section 6.3 some monks wear as a badge of honour the length of time they have continuously stayed at the monastery, without stepping foot beyond its land. Even Father Alphege was ambivalent about this. The first time I went to IM he was necessarily absent, having been granted permission to visit the home of his widowed mother on the ‘mainland’. On my second visit we spoke on several occasions, and on two occasions he spoke about the trips he’d like to make, to London, visiting friends, and to Melbourne, visiting family. We spoke at some length about the former, including important practical matters. However, by my penultimate visit, when I asked about these intended travels he replied that it was not so easy. Living as long as he had in monasteries, he explained, it’s hard to envisage being outside for you have been shaped by the rhythms and routines; he used the simile of a prisoner who, granted parole, cannot adapt back to the ‘real’ world. It was rather a surprise to me, then, on my final visit, to find that he had, in fact, made it to Australia. When I asked him how easy it was in Melbourne, without the monastery, he replied simply that there are over 150 (Greek Orthodox) churches in the city and he has many family members there.

As mentioned in section 5.3, Father Oswald was directed by the Abbott not to paint icons for many years, in order to ensure a harmonious community. After informing me of this, prior to Vespers one evening during my second visit to IM, Father Oswald invited me to witness the ringing of the bells. The service is announced by a sequence of sounds. As Sacristan, Father Oswald must first process around the precinct of the monastery striking the *semantron*¹³ and then run up the steps to the bell tower. To reach the top, one passes through a locked door: behind this, in a space which is effectively private, I saw something quite surprising: a studio. Anticipating that the many years might someday soon come to an end, Father Oswald has spent the last two years building this studio in his rare spare time. He has: replaced the stairs, so as to give more space and light (most of which comes down from the bell platform above); made curtains, throws, easels and bookcases; installed a candle-lit chandelier; restored a sofa. Even in simply being frank about his situation Father Oswald was resisting the authority of the Abbot, for normally the spiritual guidance behind our actions as Orthodox Christians is not to be attributed: it is our will, even if our will has been guided.

¹³ A long, well-planed plank of wood used as a percussion instrument to summon the community to worship.

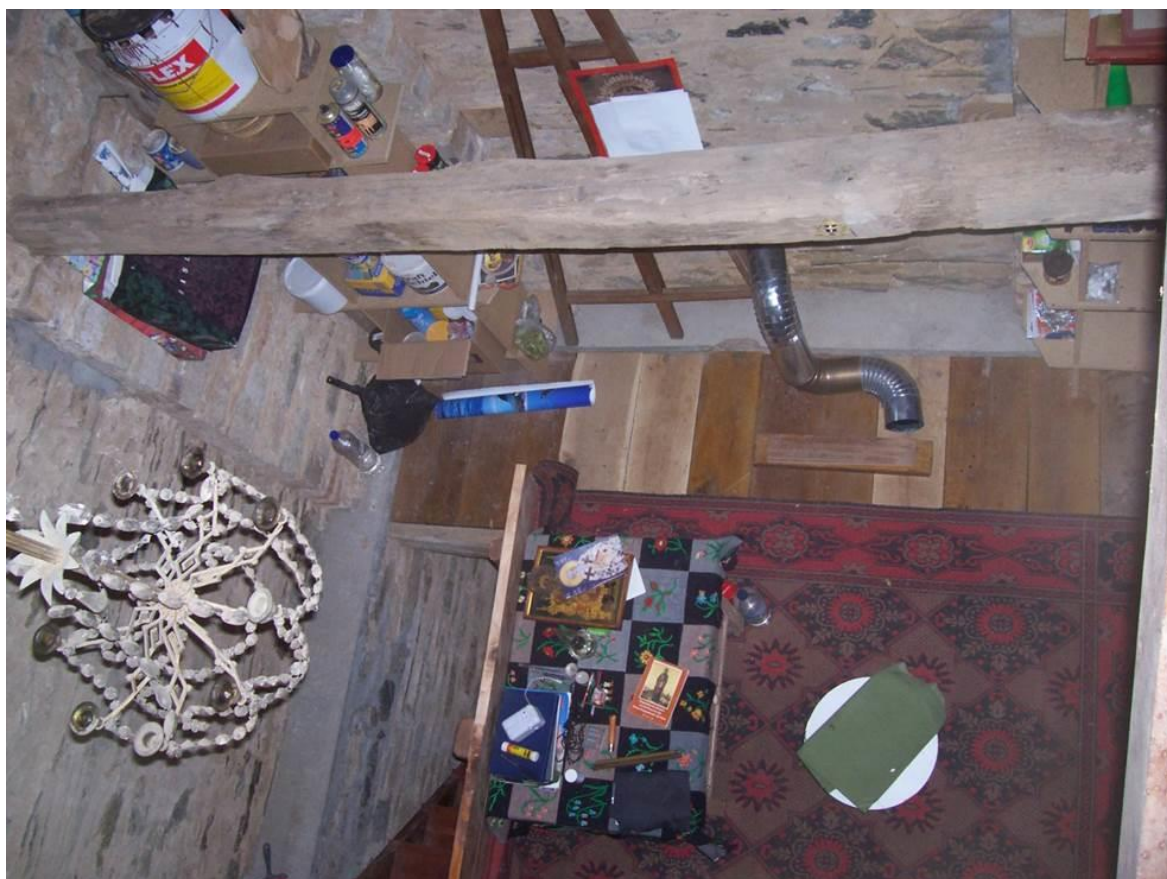


Figure 7.3 Father Oswald's belfry 'studio' in 2009

By 2015 the space beneath the bells really did resemble a professional studio. Thanks to Father Botolph, Father Oswald's brother, there was now electricity, and connected to the sockets were lights, a laptop and a CD player. The windows had gained blinds and curtains. And, most importantly, there were works in progress. On one side there were two icons which he showed me: one of *Theotokos* and one of Saint George. He had taken a one week break from painting them as he was not happy with his rendition of the face of *Theotokos*. Instead he was painting two canvases on the other side of the studio: a landscape, based upon a photograph he saw on the internet, and an English village scene from a picture given to him by a friend. When I asked him if this meant he was taking commissions, like Michelangelo for the ceiling of the Sistine chapel, he replied: 'No...or, at least, not for money'.

Father Oswald explained that he paints at night: even with blinds and curtains the studio is too hot in the day time (I would not be surprised to find an air conditioning unit next time I visit!). At the time I wondered how he could do this, in view of the night time services. I observed through the next days that Father Illtud and one of his brothers, now a Deacon, were performing many of the tasks Father Oswald had previously performed during the night time services and the two boys on placement from the Athonite Academy were performing some of the tasks Father Oswald had previously performed during or after the day time services (describing the holy relics and icons to pilgrims, for example). However, whilst starting to think his life had become a little too comfortable I spotted a sewing machine. He now repairs the monks' clothes with patches; for the time being, he claims not to be good enough to make new. Despite this additional role he had painted around fifteen icons in the five and a half years since I first stepped foot in his studio; thirteen more than in his first seven years at IM.

This second example of creating the studio, shows this time the importance of Father Oswald's cultural capital: his computer skills enabled his ICT adoption, whilst his ICTs provided access to artistic inspiration from the internet. Also, it again shows an imperviousness on Father Oswald's part to the *habitus*, this time to that which for others results in less creative obedience.

7.5 Micro-level figurations with the parallel *habitus* of non-monastic guest workers

There also live in the monastery eight resident workers, a sixth of its entire population. On my first visit all the resident workers followed the monastic programme, and essentially lived as untensured – whether through personal choice or not was unclear – monks. On my second visit there were two new long term resident workers who had come to IM in search of work. Unlike the others they had not come on the advice of a priest. One, Swithin, a seasonal worker in the resort of Malya in Crete for six months of the year, had previously worked at S2 for four months. He was keen to point out that this was not for money, just for subsistence. He and others were asked to

leave – not because of the quality of their work – or ‘stay and take the habit’. In the crisis, unable to find paid employment on the ‘mainland’ he had joined a growing number of young Greeks on Athos, seeking to just get by, and have a change of scene.

Other monasteries such as Vatopedi are not taking on workers – rather they are laying them off – as they ‘have nearly spent their last pay packet’ i.e. grant from the European Union and Greek government. He confirmed what I had suspected at IM9: that manual work there, such as cleaning the refectory, is conducted by Albanian workers. Edward said that this is because at IM9 they are academics, ‘many doctors and professors who are not used to hard work, only soft’. Certainly at IM the cleaning of the refectory is performed by monks. Prior to becoming a monk in 1957, aged 27 years, the Abbot had been a metalworker in Thessaloniki. This perhaps partially explains his preference for manual work and the sensibility of those monks and spiritual children who have chosen to be in his care. However, I did notice that the taking of rubbish to the dump – i.e. the formerly picturesque ravine – is performed by a resident worker, as was the cleaning of the toilets and the guest quarters, at least on my first visit.

The use of guest workers for menial labour suggests another difference at IM between what is expounded and what is practised, or at least that there are limits to manual labour being ‘good for the soul’ (the guest master) of the monks. One could draw nineteenth century parallels, whether of the Russian painting of a rosy, rotund priest enjoying life, oblivious to those around him (figure 6.3); or English ladies of the nineteenth century, who would not deign to sully their hands cleaning for that was for their domestic staff.

These guest workers are politically invisible as they have no representation in the structures of monastic self-governance. Their continued existence in IM is precarious as they are technically an overstaying guest, whose *diamonitirion* has lapsed: they are entitled to no board or lodging, though they may receive this. They are therefore pretty powerless: one of the workers even likened the guest master to a ‘gang master’. They can thus be further marginalised by a labour process akin to

that of immigrant labourers on the 'mainland'. Meanwhile, their lack of entitlement to social security on the 'mainland' due to their seasonal, occasional labour – which may have pushed them towards Mount Athos in the first place – is not bettered by being on the Holy Mountain; they can make no material provision for their future even if their immediate needs of food, drink and shelter are met.

As long as the guest workers are prepared to be regulated and re-constructed, through formation in the olive groves alongside the novices, and attendance at Church, their residency at IM would be extended. One of the workers thought their existence not so different to the (usual) monks, for: 'The priests look after the administration; monks are nothing'. In this respect a connection can be made to the concept of established and outsider relations (Elias et al., 2008b). It is possible that the 'superior' people in this instance – the hieromonks – 'may make the less powerful people [the "ordinary" monks and guest workers] themselves feel they lack virtue - that they are inferior in human terms' (Elias et al., 2008b: xvi). In other words, relations of dominance and subordination may be normalised between established and outsider, whether between hieromonks on the one hand as established and "ordinary" monks and guest workers on the other as outsider, or between monks on the one hand and the guest workers on the other. The taking of rubbish to the dump and the cleaning of the toilets performed by a resident worker might support the latter categorisation. A key feature of Elias' established and outsider relations are civilising processes, whereby 'the established almost invariably experience and present themselves as more "civilized" and outsiders are constructed as more "barbaric"' (Van Krieken, 1998: 151): assigning such 'dirty jobs' to guest workers might support this construction.

It is also important to note that the guest workers were recipients of monastic love labour (Lynch, 2007) and spiritual labour from the monks. In return, for the monks, this enabled monastic "self"-sufficiency as guest workers produce more than they consume. It also gave them the opportunity to practise *filoxenia*, love of the other, an important Christian concept, especially for monks.

Amongst such workers I noticed various acts which could be construed as ones of resistance, or at least workarounds to solve the trials of their existence at the monastery, for example, creating conveniences for themselves. Swithin once told me that he was off to take a shower. 'How is this possible?' I enquired. He proceeded to demonstrate. From the rubbish ravine he had salvaged a 5kg tin, formerly containing feta cheese. This he filled with water, and taking the lid off the wood-burning fire, balanced it on top. Twenty minutes later and the water was ready to be extracted with a mug for an ersatz shower. Such a process created a lot of smoke in the dormitory, smoke which helped to mask the smoke from cigarettes being smoked: another act of resistance, for smoking is also supposed to be prohibited within the monastery. IM does not, of course, provide cigarettes for its resident workers and nor does it pay them the money required to purchase them. So to solve this problem they trade their skills: offering, for instance, to help a pilgrim start their fire in exchange for five cigarettes. Another solution – enabled by the lack of a shop due to the Abbot's resistance to monetary exchange in the monastery – is the selling of crosses and prayer ropes by the resident workers to pilgrims. In these dormitories it is common for resident workers and pilgrims to listen to music or sport on smuggled-in radios.



Figure 7.4 A dormitory's wood-burning 'stove'

Despite such acts of resistance, some of the guest workers would readily admit that Mount Athos had saved them. For two such salvation was physical: Kevin from heroin addiction and Stavros from

the criminal underworld of Athens. Whilst the mountain provides freedom from the physical temptations of drugs and crime, mental temptations based on one's past experiences and practices persist, and may even be magnified, as Edward explained: 'The Devil is even here [in this garden of the Mother of God], tempting us; outside is the Devil's, he has won; but here the battle is [still] being fought'. Finbar said something very similar: 'The better the person – fasting, attending Divine Liturgy, making confession, receiving the gifts – the more aggressive the Devil is, trying to turn him; his efforts are not required for others, for he is already with them'.

Despite this use of religious language, when it came to speaking of ICTs these guest workers noticeably did not use the doxic language of the monks discussed in section 6.5, reflecting their different *habitus*. Whilst Kevin thought the lack of internet access (at that point) at IM to be good, preferring the quiet, Edward missed the internet, especially Facebook, and thought the internet might be useful for monks to find out information. Finbar thought that with technology one forgets the simple things of life, such as adding two numbers. When outside of Athos he had already decided to live life without a computer and the internet. He thought that such technologies are responsible for the problems of today's youth: they are using technologies all-day long and this is causing them psychological problems. The guest workers' position, if not their discourse, broadly reflected that of the monks in 2009-10. I sensed that their position was shaped by the monks in part, but primarily that their position had pushed them towards IM.

7.6 Summary and conclusions

In this chapter I address my third subsidiary question. I do this by reading my ethnographic data, gathered as described in chapter 4, through Elias' concept of figurations, explored in detail in chapter 3. I began in section 7.2 by exploring current and historic figurations of meso-level resistance towards macro-level power, specifically that of the resistance of IM, and especially the Abbot, to: the Holy Community, concerning a desktop computer; and Vodafone, concerning a mobile phone mast. These instances of resistance reveal the importance of the other monastic

communities on Athos and I went on to specifically consider the figuration comprising the monastic community of IM and Orthodox monastic communities elsewhere, a meso-level figuration, in 7.3. The focus of the chapter then shifted to figurations of micro-level resistance towards meso-level power in 7.4. These also featured the Abbot but now in relation to particular monks of IM: Father Alphege, Brother Aidan and Father Oswald. Next I considered relations between the monastic community of IM and the non-monastic unpaid guest workers within its walls, a primarily micro-level figuration, in 7.5. These figurations are graphically represented in figure 7.5.

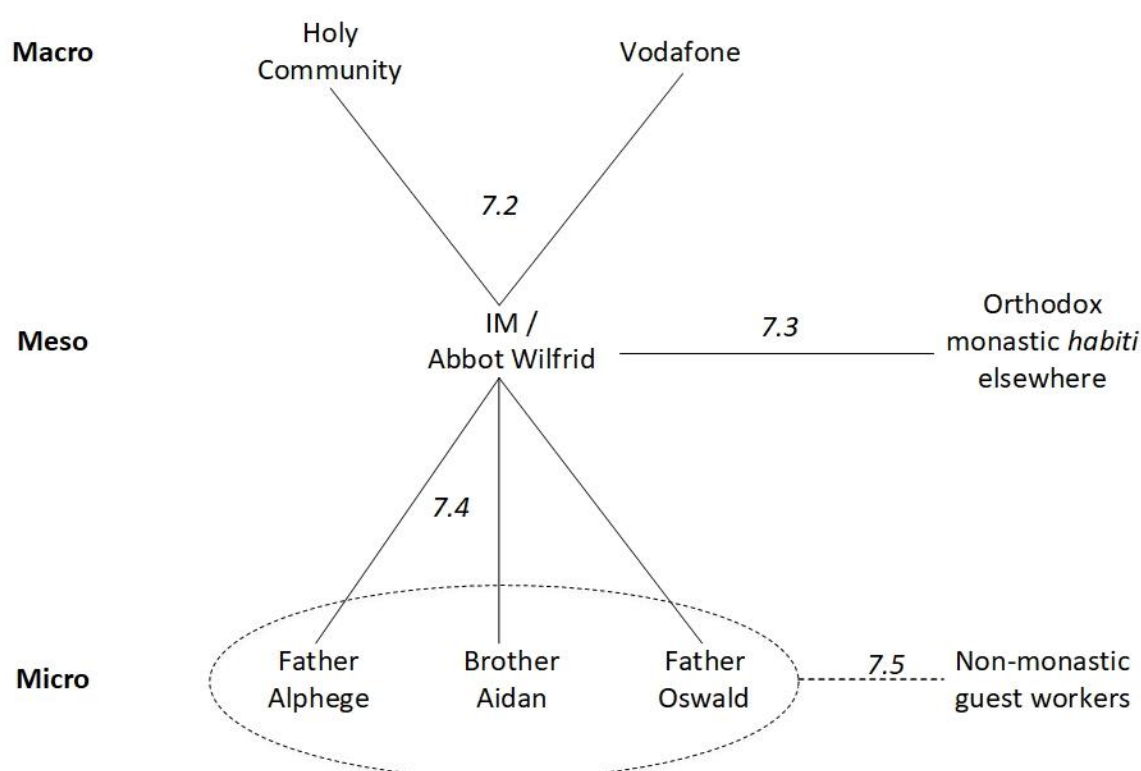


Figure 7.5 Figurations across macro-, meso- and micro-levels

Elias' notion that power and resistance exist in a particular socio-spatio-temporal setting as a result of the – current and historic – figuration of positions and dispositions is an especially important one, as recognised by Mouzelis (1995; 2008) which aligns with the quotation from Foucault at the start of this chapter. In these specific instances of resistance, both normative expectations, from the positional dimension, and *habitus* and capitals, from the dispositional dimension, were

activated. Positions and dispositions formed constellations, as did human subjects and technological objects, which evolved over time: a longitudinal, dynamic, aspect to resistance towards ICTs as in Lapointe and Rivard (2007).

In terms of the frontiers of control between the macro- and meso-levels and the meso- and micro-levels it is generally the case that the macro- is more powerful and the micro-level more resistant in the figurational dimension. In other words, the meso-level is weaker than in the positional and dispositional dimensions. In 2006 I would argue that whilst meso-level resistance is stronger than macro-level power (hence the bigger arrow in figure 7.6), reflecting the score lines of section 7.2, there are still some goals scored by the Holy Community. For example, IM did possess a desktop purchased by the Holy Community. With respect to the lower frontier of control, none of the micro- to meso-level figurations I identified in section 7.4 had, to my knowledge, commenced in 2006. However, one can suppose that there would be some resistance in this dimension, and that this would be greater than in the dispositional dimension as is usual (see figure 3.1 for a typical such frontier). I have placed it at the same level as for the positional dimension where there is equally some potential for resistance through elections for the Abbot, and the collective decision-making bodies of the Council and the *Synodikon*.

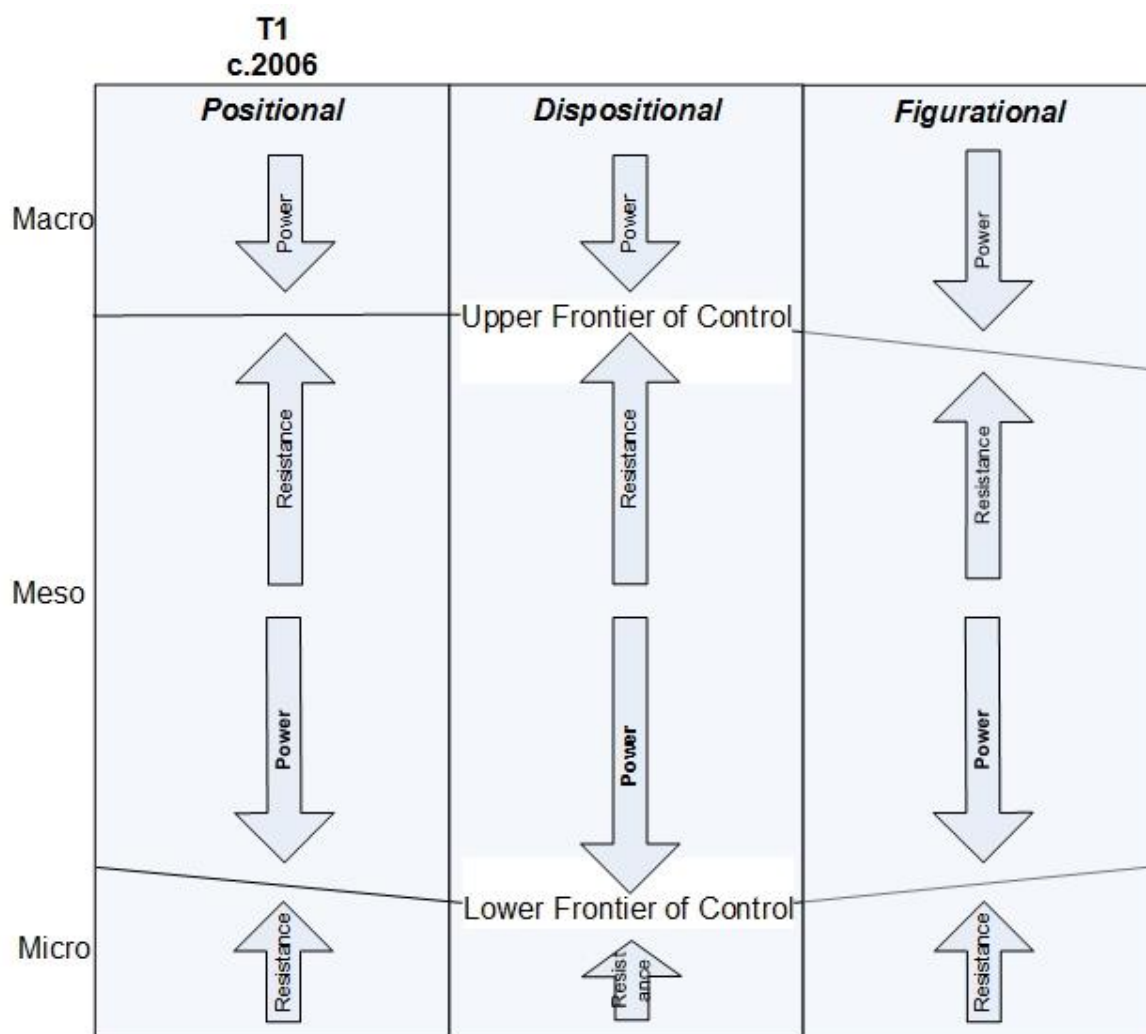


Figure 7.6 Frontiers of control at IM across three dimensions c.2006

In 2009-10 the macro- became more powerful and the micro-level more resistant in the figurational dimension, increasing in proportion to the increase of the other two dimensions of social practice (see figure 7.7). With respect to the upper frontier of control the key change is Vodafone's dramatic side-stepping of meso-level resistance in their quest to provide mobile phone reception to IM. With respect to the lower frontier of control significant figurations are those of Fathers Alphege and Oswald where they captured space, whether for an electricity-powered ICT-laden cell or a 'secret' studio.

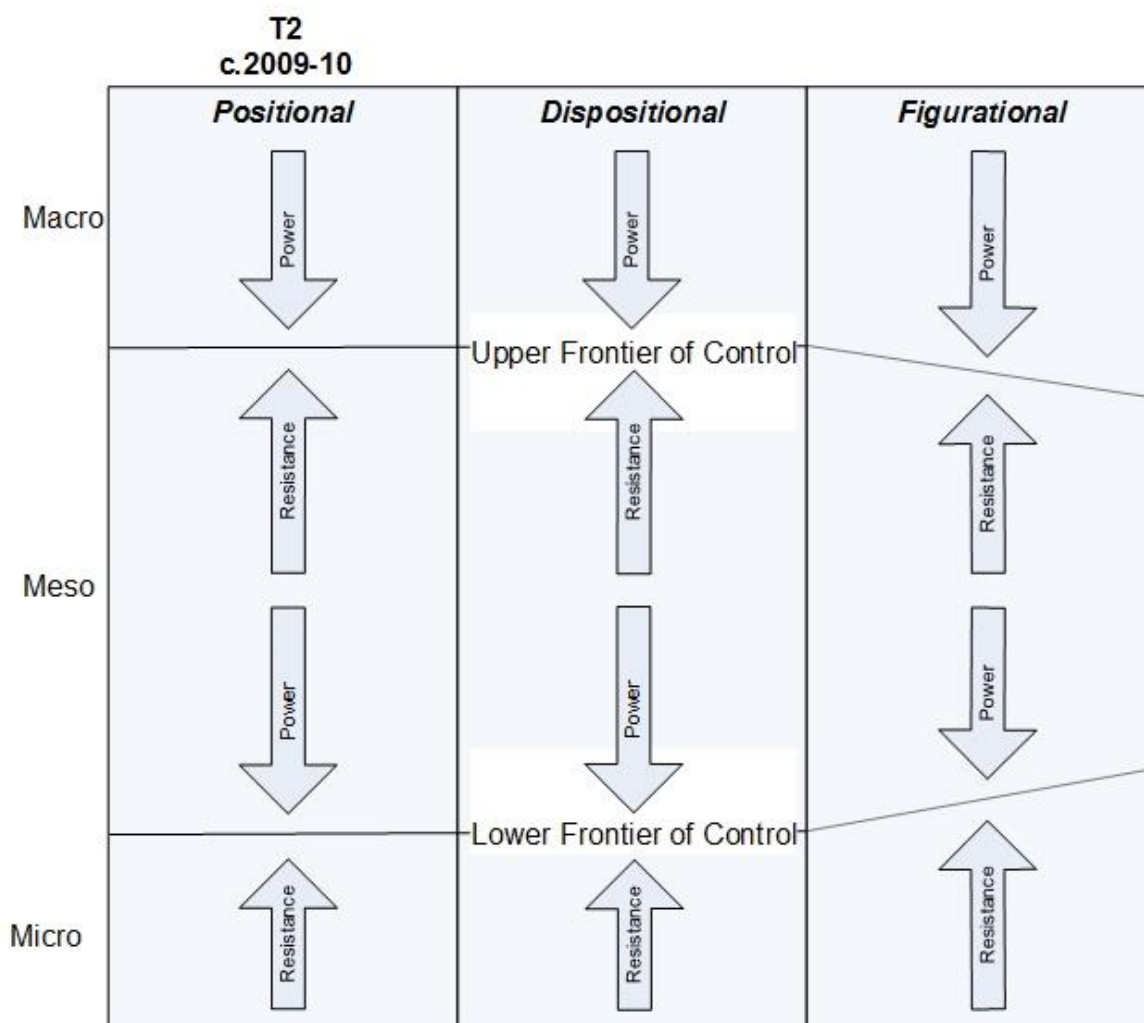


Figure 7.7 Frontiers of control at IM across three dimensions c.2009-10

By 2015 power and resistance had again changed. In terms of the upper frontier of control the macro-level has again gained power, this time in the positional dimension as the use of mobile phones became codified at IM, with Vodafone therefore contractually receiving income from IM on a monthly basis for IM's twenty smartphones (see figure 7.8). With respect to the dispositional and figural dimensions I would argue the upper frontier is broadly the same. In terms of the lower frontier of control the meso-level gained power in the positional dimension. Previously the increasing importance of the technological sphere within the monastery was ceding power from the organisational hierarchy to Father Alphege as electrician and the monk with the highest level of computing skill, mirroring shifts elsewhere in the location of centralised control to an emergent

techno-structure (Bloomfield and Coombs, 1992), specialists bred by ICTs who possess so-called expert power (Zuboff, 1982). By 2015 the hierarchy had regained control over these artefacts in a general sense, in terms of their acquisition, number and to whom they would be allocated. However, there remained similar amounts of resistance, or potential resistance, in the dispositional and figurational dimensions. The widespread adoption of smartphones brought monks' prior *habitus* to the fore, from which recent arrivals would have brought computing skills from the macro environment; through the lack of central control over how the smartphones are used (Sørensen and Pica, 2004) this makes for micro-level resistance in the figurational dimension as monks access Facebook and are potentially tempted by sites which would be considered incompatible with the monastic vocation (Russell, 2012; Davies, 2013). In contrast to laptops or desktops, smartphones were not inspected or serviced by Father Alphege and the data traffic across the mobile phone network is beyond his – or any monk's – surveillance. Together with the small screen of the smartphone this means that they can be used away from the gaze of other monks. This contrasts with physical precedents – post, for example, was not considered private as I discovered when I observed, and commented upon, Father Oswald opening a parcel of what transpired to be catechisms for Father Brendan.

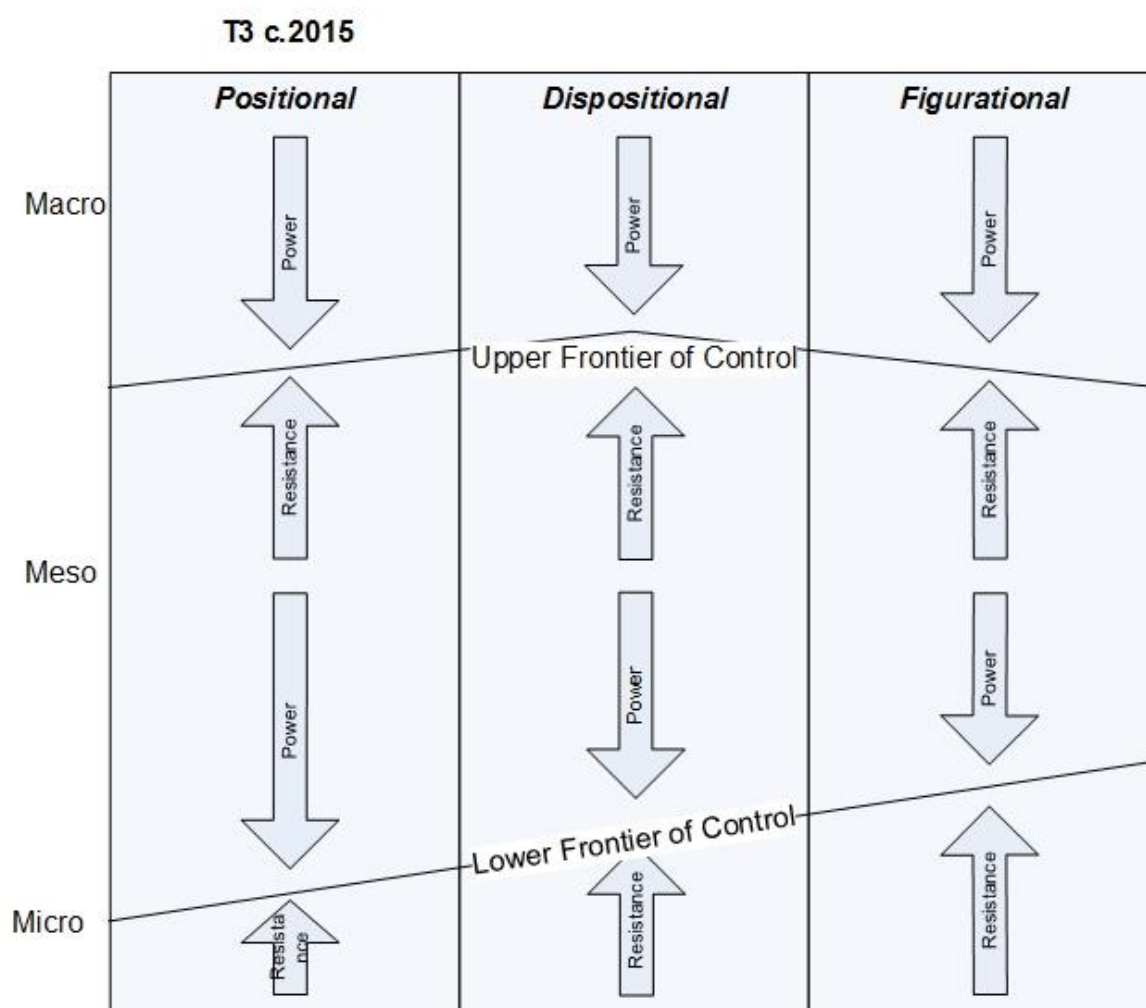


Figure 7.8 Frontiers of control at IM across three dimensions c.2015

Although there was a longitudinal, dynamic, aspect to resistance towards ICTs in the monastery, this was not a case of independent individual's resistance compiling and then converging into collective resistance over time as in Lapointe and Rivard (2005). Here, meso-level resistance towards ICTs, over time, had become less general and more complex. The Abbot, who had led the monastery's resistance to the mobile phone mast, had later authorised the adoption of first one and then many mobile phones on behalf of the monastery. The Abbot was not the change agent at IM. Change arose from two-pronged micro- and macro-level resistance of the Abbot's resistance towards ICTs: Vodafone, in defiance of the Abbot, erected the mast from which the Abbot now benefits, at the initiation of Father Alphege, in terms of reception for the mobile phone he calls.

The strategy for implementing ICTs was therefore emergent (Mintzberg, 1994), ongoing and improvised (Orlikowski, 1996). Intensive, longitudinal immersion in the field proved the right epistemological vehicle for analysing the nuances of technological innovation (Newman and Robey, 1992) and the complex organisational dynamics that take place across space and through time (Robey and Boudreau, 1999).

In relation to the disagreement of Mouzelis with Bourdieu over the possibility of conscious, strategic action resulting from one's *habitus* (recognised by Mouzelis and Elias but not Bourdieu) I concur with Mouzelis that such action is possible, although found to be relatively infrequent in this social context. Elias' other concepts of established and outsider relations, unintended consequences and *habitus* (as stated in chapter 3 his definition of this differs to that of Bourdieu) had some analytical power in this context.

Chapter 8

Discussion and Conclusions

Where there is power, there is resistance, and yet, or rather consequently, this resistance is never in a position of exteriority in relation to power.

(Foucault and Hurley, 1979: 95)

8.1 Introduction

This thesis has explored whether a particular meso-level organisation, a monastery in the Monks' Republic of Mount Athos in northern Greece, can resist ICTs. In section 1.1 I explained how such resistance is rare as few issues bring together East with West, Left with Right, and public, private and third sectors, like the issue of universal access to ICTs. As a result little in the way of argument is usually even necessary when advocating the adoption of ICTs: their benefits are regarded as 'self-evident' (Arthur, 2009). Reflecting this assumption, a report by the UK government (Lord Carter, 2009) proposed universal access to high-speed fixed and mobile internet and the Welsh Government (2012) introduced a policy on subsidising the provision of access in broadband 'not-spots'. However, contestation and resistance, if sought out, can be seen.

At the very beginning of this thesis I introduced two Greek examples of resistance to ICTs contemporary to the fieldwork of this thesis: an attack on Aristotle University's central server by an anarchist radio-broadcasting group and another on the computer lab of the liberal studies centre by 'the think tank for the overthrow of existence'. These featured three key elements of resistance to ICTs, each relevant to this thesis. The first element was the level of resistance. These were examples of meso-level, organisational, resistance: such resistance has yet to be found in the extant literature. Despite the level of resistance, however, without collective control of time and place, these organisations may be likened to guerrilla warriors employing tactics of resistance (de Certeau, 1984). Thus, although these are examples of meso-level resistance they were similar in

nature to that of individuals and groups in the extant literature. The second element was the conflict between the structure, form or *weltanschauung* embodied in the artefact and that of the organisation. For example, 'the think tank for the overthrow of existence', grounded in localism and socialism, resisted ICTs as embodiments of globalisation and capitalism. The third element was the difference in reaction to different ICTs by the same organisation. The group 'outside the University' at AUTH sabotaged the central computer lab in pursuit of a service ultimately provided by the very same lab. 'The think tank for the overthrow of existence' took responsibility for their attack on computers via computers.

This thesis therefore set out to consider rare – but not unheard of – local resistance to a global phenomenon. As the contemporary Greek examples showed, such meso-level resistance is extremely complex. By concentrating specifically on one meso-level organisation, via an intensive research approach, my aim was to critically assess what determines the nature and extent of resistance to ICTs at the meso-level of an organisation. Accordingly, in this chapter I return to my original research questions (section 1.3), reflect on the issues that have emerged in this thesis and discuss their significance in the context of that broad aim.

Through this thesis I posited answers to my research questions, whether based on the extant literature concerning resistance towards ICTs (chapter 2), theoretical resources (chapter 3) or my own empirical research (chapter 5 through 7). This chapter brings together the answers to these questions, beginning with answers to the subsidiary questions in section 8.2 where I provide a brief summation and explanation of the key findings in the context of this thesis. In section 8.3, I reflect on the limitations of my research, both theoretical and methodological. Then in section 8.4, I unearth an unexpected finding. Finally, in section 8.5, I address my primary research question and offer some comments on the significance of this original piece of research and its contribution to the body of knowledge. As Foucault states above, resistance accompanies power. Throughout this

thesis I have considered resistance to ICTs in relation to power; and I have found resistance even within such an all-encompassing institution as a monastery.

8.2 ICT adoption within a monastery on Mount Athos

My principal question was: what determines the nature and extent of organisational resistance to ICTs? I answered that by addressing four specific, subsidiary, research questions on which I reflect, in order, in this section, before returning to my principal question in section 8.5.

How can resistance to ICTs be conceptualised? (SQ1)

My first subsidiary question was: how can resistance to ICTs be conceptualised? In order to answer this question I began by considering conceptualisations of resistance to ICTs from the extant literature. In section 2.2 I identified that that elements of the power model of Markus (1983) and its revision by Lapointe and Rivard (2005) would be useful in the case of meso-level resistance to ICTs. One such element is Markus' (1983) classic conceptualisation (1983) of people-determined, system-determined and interaction resistance research. The object of resistance, the ICT is important, as is the subject of resistance, the intended organisation but what is more critical is their interaction in a specific space and at a particular time for resistance to ICT depends upon, and results from, the networks and circumstances in which, and by which, the technology is embedded, not the technology or the people who use it *per se*. Within the interaction category of resistance research Markus' (1983) political variant, where crucial to the context is not just how the subject and object interact but also the siting of the subject and object in broader power relations, informs my entire conceptual approach. Despite this I also concluded that the narrow definition of resistance used in both Markus (1983) and Lapointe and Rivard (2005), needed to be broader to reflect the overlapping continuum of responses which were likely to be – and were in fact – encountered in this study of meso-level resistance to ICT initiatives. I therefore adopted the taxonomy of Coetsee (1999) in this thesis, meaning that the intent to resist, or even simply not to

use, an ICT is sufficient to be classified as resistance; it need not frustrate or prevent its use by other organisations.

People-determined resistance research would expect that the resisters of one ICT would resist other ICTs, too (Markus, 1983); this was generally found to be the case, as the Abbot resisted the mobile phone mast, participation in the WiMAX trial and connection to the internet. System-determined resistance research would expect that such ICTs would be resisted in other settings, too; this is not generally the case with mobile phone masts, WiMAX trials and connection to the internet. Interaction-driven research provides for different responses to different systems by the same set of users and different responses to the same system by different sets of users. This research supports existing interaction research for the monastery resisted ICTs not resisted elsewhere and yet adopted certain ICTs.

Research in the political variant of the interaction approach to resistance contends that the distribution of intra-organisational power is affected by – and affects – ICTs (Markus, 1983). Such intra-organisational power classically takes the form of hierarchical power, this has already been explored in respect of the Abbot's effect on ICTs. However intra-organisational power could also be charisma or specialist knowledge: in short it means the ability to get one's way, even in the face of opposition (Markus, 1983). Father Alphege could be said to possess a quiet, understated form of charisma, as evidenced by the select group of pilgrims who seek him out in his cell. He certainly has specialist knowledge: not only is he the only electrician, he is also the most senior English-speaking monk, and therefore acts as the 'official' translator for the Abbot. His power may have impacted on the Abbot's decision to adopt both the laptop and the mobile phone. Once adopted, the mobile phone itself has perhaps impacted on the distribution of power. The mobile gives the Abbot and the priests the ability to re-negotiate their movements with the monastery; this, also, means they are less able to refuse demands from and in Thessaloniki. This does not change the distribution of intra-organisational power *per se* – the Abbots and the priests were already in a

vertically superior position in the intra-organisational hierarchy – but does change the distribution of power, perhaps, between the monastery and its convent, and therefore between the monks on the one hand and the nuns who live in the convent and the lay people who attend its services on the other. Where the mobile phone itself has perhaps impacted on the intra-organisational distribution of power is by Father Alphege becoming a proxy for the Abbot or the other priests when they are away. This does not change the formal hierarchy, but instead renders Father Alphege more informal power.

Markus (1983) considers that this political interaction approach is most appropriate in three particular circumstances. Two of them do not apply in this instance as there is neither disagreement over organisational goals and values (this makes it unclear what problem an ICT could solve or to what it could contribute) nor scarce resources and important decisions to be made (this means that power bases are in short-supply and are highly-valued). However, there was some disagreement over the means to achieve organisational goals. A few of the monks considered that ICTs might assist them in fulfilling their vocation, although most believed, as with the Abbot, that they were generally an irrelevance or even a distraction from this.

Despite this congruence, this thesis also supports my assertion in chapter 2 that the narrow definition of resistance used in both Markus (1983) and Lapointe and Rivard (2005) needed to be broader to reflect the overlapping continuum of responses which were likely to be – and were in fact – encountered in this study of meso-level resistance to ICT initiatives. In terms of Coetsee's (1999) taxonomy of resistance behaviours by degree, that of the Abbot can be seen as between passive and active resistance. Passive resistance can be seen in the continuing use of prior ICTs e.g. a basic mobile phone and (seemingly) non-networked laptop and desktop. Active resistance can be seen in the forming of a coalition in opposition to the Vodafone mast and the voicing of opposition to ICTs.

Whilst, as is clear from the above, these conceptualisations can be applied to my fieldwork site, they are about micro-level resistance to meso-level and macro-level ICT initiatives. This was highlighted in the rest of chapter 2 where I considered the relevance of extant research on resistance for answering my other subsidiary research questions. I therefore had to adopt and adapt strands of theory to provide for where the extant literature on resistance to ICTs was found lacking: power in relation to resistance; the breadth and diversity of resistance; the complex and hybrid nature of the missionary organisation; and an appropriate framework that suits meso-level resistance to ICTs in organisations whilst providing for multi-level and longitudinal aspects of resistance. This I did in chapter 3 where I established the potential contribution of elements of the work of Mouzelis (1995; 2008) to my conceptual framework in helping me to connect the micro, meso and macro organisational levels with power and resistance.

Mouzelis (1995) seeks to bridge the gap between the micro level of analysis, where many sociologists take a voluntaristic stance and the macro level where many take a deterministic stance. In his work Mouzelis synthesises three different dimensions of social practice, each drawn from a different tradition of social thought, for heuristic purposes. Each dimension is capable of providing relevant insights but by itself is inadequate; by using all three dimensions together, he seeks to connect micro-level agency-centred analysis with macro-level structure-centred analysis via meso-level analysis, and vice-versa. In so doing, he aims to bridge the divide between post-modern and classical sociological approaches in a pragmatic fashion, not via an attempted depiction of a new vision of society, nor a new theory to be tested. His work helped inform my answers to the following three subsidiary questions.

How do the structures and functions of an organisation impact on, or relate to, resistance to ICTs? (SQ2)

My second subsidiary question was: how do the structures and functions of an organisation impact on, or relate to, resistance to ICTs? In order to answer this question I began, in section 2.3, by

considering how, in the extant literature, the structures and functions of an organisation are related to resistance to ICTs.

I found that Orlikowski's (1992) structurational model of technology usefully showed how technology, individuals and organisations may shape each other. However, it presumes technology use, and in its application, relatively neglects the institutional conditions of interaction with technology. This means I needed to consider how to supplement this in the following chapter.

In chapter 3 I explored and evaluated the relevance to this question of functional analysis and its provision for continuity and conflict in the work of Mouzelis (1995; 2008) and of Parsons (1951; 1951; 1953; 1956; 1957; 1960b; 1961). Parsons asserts that a social system must perform four functions in order to maintain itself: 'adaptation', 'goal-attainment', 'integration' and 'latent pattern maintenance' (Parsons and Smelser, 1956: 16-19). These functions must be performed at each system level i.e. macro-, meso- and micro-. I found that this positional dimension, concerned with the normative expectations of someone performing a particular role, could clearly be of significance when considering resistance to ICTs at the meso-level of an organisation. I also found that Mouzelis draws upon Marx's appropriation philosophies which similarly inspired, via Ollman's (1971) reading, Orlikowski's structurational model of technology (Delaney, 2008). This discovery opened up the logical potential of using Orlikowski's model in combination with Mouzelis' technological, appropriative and ideological spheres for the micro-level analysis of a given function. This I duly realised in chapter 5 where I applied the positional dimension to IM.

In chapter 5 I considered the position of IM *vis-à-vis* macro-level institutions outside the Holy Mountain and other meso-level organisations within it, via application of Parsons' AGIL schema. I found that the Holy Community is relatively weak, being ignored, whether through explicit rejection of its decision – e.g. with respect to the exhibition of icons in Paris – or through by-passing it via direct connections to institutions outside the Mountain. Having said this, in relation to engagement with – or resistance towards – ICTs it was the Holy Community which pursued

initiatives such as the new *diamonitirion* system, with desktops in every monastery, and the WiMAX trial with OTE. I then drilled down to the meso-level latent pattern maintenance function – i.e. that performed by IM – and explored its meso-level and meso- to micro-level relations in more detail. The particular focus was IM, both in terms of its internal functions and its relations to the adaption, goal-attainment and integration functions of the Holy Community as a whole. Having explored the normative role expectations within IM of the Abbot, Council of Elders and other monks through these functions I considered the extent to which there is differentiation between the functions of IM, and also the extent to which any one function dominates the others. I found that the micro-level is relatively weak in this dimension: despite elections for the Abbot, and the collective decision-making bodies of the Council and the *Synodikon*, the monastery is not a democracy. In fact, these collective entities may make it even harder for an individual monk to resist. Having said this, the dominance of the meso-level was being challenged. My use of Mouzelis' technological, appropriative and ideological spheres for micro-level analysis of the adaptation function revealed the increasing importance of the technological sphere within the monastery. Allied with macro-level ICT initiatives, such as by the Holy Community for the issuing of *diamonitiria*, this creates a two-pronged challenge to meso-level power.

How do the field and *doxa* of the organisation and the *habitus* and capitals of the individuals within it impact on, or relate to, resistance to ICTs? (SQ3)

My third subsidiary question was: how do the field and *doxa* of the organisation and the *habitus* and capitals of the individuals within it impact on, or relate to, resistance to ICTs? In order to answer this question, in section 2.4 I explored and evaluated the potential contribution of extant literature which has engaged with the importance and impact of individuals' characteristics upon ICT adoption and resistance. I found that the extant ICT literature tends to use models which propose characteristics of those who are likely to engage with ICTs, via which one can make assumptions about those who don't i.e. who resist. However, these characteristics cannot provide a complete account of resistance. Contextual factors matter, factors which might be better

explored by a broader, qualitative, approach. In contrast, discourses from the social sciences concerning resistance to ICTs, which focus on deficits of the individual, do not provide for a positive digital choice against ICTs. In view of the complex nature of resistance to ICTs I needed to consider alternatives. Drawing upon the finding that the sites of resistance to ICTs are often within the healthcare sector, I then posited that there may be a conflict between the *habitus* of those working in the healthcare sector, or even the *doxa* of such organisations, and ICTs formed via a division of labour which serves technocratic instrumental logic.

In chapter 3 I explored and evaluated the relevance to this question of Bourdieu's concepts of field, capitals, *habitus*, *doxa* and symbolic violence (1962; 1977; 1977; 1983; 1985; 1986; 1988; 1989; 1990; 1991; 1992; 1992; 1998; 2010). I found that the second, dispositional, dimension of Mouzelis (1995; 2008), derived from Bourdieu and concerned with the mental patterns of perception, appreciation and action that an actor acquires and brings to bear upon a particular situation, could be fundamental as it can both provoke and constrain resistance to ICTs. I found that the *habitus* (Bourdieu, 1990) as a mediating link between macro-level structures and micro-level action also suited my focus on the meso-level of an organisation. However, I concluded that identifying the constitution of the organisation's *habitus* cannot entirely be achieved without considering Bourdieu's other concepts of field, capitals, *doxa*, and symbolic violence which work together.

In view of the importance of the concept of *habitus*, both for my study as well as the work of Bourdieu and Mouzelis, it formed the initial focus of my application of the dispositional dimension of social practice in chapter 6. There I began by describing the general monastic *habitus* of IM by focusing on key events in the vocation of a monk – their arrival, formation and repose – and significant shapers of their day-to-day existence – the fasts and feasts of the liturgical calendar. The general monastic *habitus* of IM is closely aligned to, and serves to strengthen, the positional dimension of social practice in IM. I then explored the quantity and distribution of capitals which the *habitus* largely reproduces. Religious and spiritual capital were dominant, as one might expect

in a monastery, and their distribution, as well as those of social and cultural capital reflected to some extent the effective organisational hierarchy of IM. These capitals constituted the organisational subfield that is IM, itself part of the general Orthodox monastic field. Within the subfield religious capital is (still) dominant, although challenged, and it shapes the monks' interpretations of ICTs, which are then explored.

Back around 2006, with the lack of infrastructure, whether mobile phone masts in range of IM or electricity within IM, there was very little possibility of resistance in the dispositional dimension. By 2009-10 the infrastructure had developed and, with a greater quantity of capital amongst the monks, there were exceptions to the reproduction of the dispositional dimension. Father Alphege, in his positional role as electrician had tasted the fruits of his labour and consequently developed his dispositions, especially his computing skills. In addition, both he and Father Oswald had very high social and cultural capital and relatively high religious capital. These two monks, through their embrace of ICTs, formed the micro-level resistance to the meso-level resistance to ICTs. Novices who possessed computing skills had also recently arrived. Even if they didn't desire to use ICTs at IM, they formed a potential pool of fellow resisters. This revealed how the monastic *habitus* at IM comes into conflict with the prior, pre-Athos, *habitus* of the monks with respect to resistance to, and engagement with, ICTs. Such a contradiction opened up friction or conflict between positions and dispositions: agency cannot be reduced to the norms, roles and responsibilities imposed upon the actor (as in Mouzelis' reading of Parsons).

Returning to this theme in the light of chapter 7, and the evolution of the setting, one can say that the frontier of ICT adoption (see figures 6.4 and 6.5) has extended beyond Fathers Alphege and Oswald. It can no longer be called a frontier of micro-resistance in view of the change in the meso-level position of IM with respect to ICTs. The frontier has not moved so far, at least when cultural and religious capital is concerned, as the 'normal' monks have acquired more cultural capital,

specifically computing skills, as they have adopted ICTs and have therefore moved closer to Fathers Alphege and Oswald.

What constellations of positions and dispositions form and evolve? (SQ4)

My fourth subsidiary question was: what constellations of positions and dispositions form and evolve? In order to answer this question I began, in section 2.5, by considering how, in the extant literature such constellations form and evolve. I found that whilst Lapointe and Rivard's (2007) framework is for micro-level, not meso-level, resistance to ICTs and bespoke IS, not off-the-shelf ICTs, it shows the importance of the level and longitudinal aspects of ICT adoption. I concluded that resistance to ICTs will change over time, and therefore my own conceptual framework would have to provide for this, as would my methodology. Similarly, the framework and methodology of this study would need to provide for the study of macro- and micro- as well as meso-levels to capture the reality of meso-level resistance.

In chapter 3, I explored the specific concepts of figurations, established and outsider relations, unintended consequences, individual *habitus* and power relations in the work of Mouzelis (1995; 2008) and of Elias (1978; 1978; 2000; 2007b; 2007a; 2008; 2008a; 2010). I found that this figurational dimension concerned with the specific context of a social activity in which the normative expectations and the *habitus* are activated, could be significant when considering resistance to ICTs at the meso-level of an organisation. I found Elias' notion that power and resistance exist in a particular socio-spatio-temporal setting as a result of the – current and historic – figuration of positions and dispositions is an especially important one, as recognised by Mouzelis (1995; 2008). I also determined to draw on Elias' other concepts of established and outsider relations, unintended consequences, *habitus* (as stated in section 3.5 his definition of this differs to that of Bourdieu) as relevant.

In chapter 7 I considered the figurational dimension of IM, through focus on specific figurations of positions and dispositions, human subjects and technological objects over time. I began by

exploring current and historic figurations of meso-level resistance towards macro-level power, next a figuration comprising the monastic community of IM and Orthodox monastic communities elsewhere, a meso-level figuration, then figurations of micro-level resistance towards meso-level power and finally the figuration of the monastic community of IM and the non-monastic unpaid guest workers within its walls, a primarily micro-level figuration.

Across these various figurations I would summarise that in 2006, whilst meso-level resistance was stronger than macro-level power, there was still a goal scored by the Holy Community in its purchase of a desktop for IM. By 2009-10 the macro- had become more powerful and the micro-level more resistant in the figural dimension, the key change being Vodafone's dramatic side-stepping of meso-level resistance in their quest to provide mobile phone reception to IM. With respect to the micro-level, significant figurations were those of Fathers Alphege and Oswald where they captured space, whether for an electricity-powered ICT-laden cell or a 'secret' studio. By 2015 power and resistance had again changed. In terms of the upper frontier of control the macro-level had again gained power, this time in the positional dimension as the use of mobile phones became codified at IM, with Vodafone therefore contractually receiving monthly income for IM's twenty smartphones. However, this also meant that the hierarchy had regained control over these artefacts in a general sense, in terms of their acquisition, number and to whom they would be allocated. There was still scope for micro-level resistance in the figural dimension, though, as monks accessed Facebook and potentially other sites without external control. Having said this, the policy of IM meant that monks did not receive a smartphone until they had proved their acquisition of the general monastic disposition. A central part of this would be their own internal control, an ability to resist (most) temptations which comes, to use Father Alphege's icon analogy, when their original image has faded and a new image has been painted by the Abbot and the Fathers of the monastery.

8.3 Reflections

In this section I reflect on the potential theoretical limitations, and actual methodological constraints, of my research. In this thesis I have applied Mouzelis' three dimensions of social practice, via reference to the original texts of those he synthesises and others. It is important to point out a limitation of this: Mouzelis' slight simplification of these theorists to fit only one dimension. For instance, Mouzelis takes the position of Parsons to be his model of four functional exigencies (1953) which 'looks down at the individual actors from the perspective of the social system' (Dubin, 1960). As such he can declare that Parsons leaves little scope for human agency. However, Parsons also proposed a pattern variable model (1951) which 'looks out at the social system from the vantage point of the actor' (Dubin, 1960), and which he later sought to integrate with his four functional exigencies (Parsons, 1957).

Similarly, with Bourdieu one could argue that his concept of field could serve the purposes of the positional dimension, both in theory – as it is concerned with a structured set of positions – and in practice, as my application of the concept in section 6.4 confirms. There are differences, as discussed in sections 6.4 and 3.4 but I do not consider them so fundamental as to render this approach fruitless. Further, on the other side of the dispositional dimension it could be argued that Mouzelis also constrains Bourdieu, limiting, or not crediting, some of the nuance and caveats in Bourdieu's emphasis on reproduction. This was an insight shared with me in response to a presentation I gave on this research at University College, Dublin (Russell, 2011). Developing this insight, with a broader reading of Bourdieu not limited to Mouzelis' interpretation and construction of his dispositional dimension, one could read the inter-*habitus* constellation of IM and other monasteries on Mount Athos (in section 7.3) as the influence of the broader Orthodox monastic field upon the organisational subfield of IM. There is also overlap between Bourdieu and Elias around the insider/outsider distinction which I use as part of the figurational dimension in section 7.5. Taken together, a broader reading of Bourdieu which recognises elements of both the

positional and figural dimensions of social practice in his work might result in an even more coherent, and theoretically self-sufficient, reading of my data than that enabled by my conceptual framework based upon the interpretations of Mouzelis.

Using a single theorist would also help address an issue raised in response to a presentation I gave on this research at the European Group for Organizational Studies (EGOS) colloquium (Russell, 2016): that Parsons and Elias are incompatible. It is certainly the case that Elias (2000) critiqued Parsons' conception of power, for reasons similar to those of Giddens (1968) and Lukes (2005) referred to in section 3.3. Whilst I do not think that this prevents the positional and figural dimensions being considered complementary and brought together in a pragmatic heuristic – as justified in section 1.4 – if each dimension can be grounded in one theorist's work then such a critique is rendered irrelevant.

As well as the above theoretical reflections, I also have methodological reflections. As the undertaking of social-scientific research on Mount Athos – as opposed to archival research – is extremely rare (see section 4.3) – some challenges were encountered, both foreseen and not. These were identified throughout chapter 4 along with the remedial actions I took. However, some of these challenges were systemic and could not be mitigated. I think two key points need to be made here, with relevance to limitations of the thesis and suggestions for future research. One is that the conducting of ethnography raises 'a whole new series of questions' (Madden, 2010: 162): it cannot but be so due to its immersive, intense nature where the data gathered can be all encompassing. The other is the perennial problem of ethnography: it gives a very holistic picture of a particular place at a particular time.

8.4 An unexpected finding

With respect to the first of these points, I found interesting data on guest workers within IM (as discussed with relevance to my research questions in section 7.5). This unusual, growing, group are migrant workers, although not, for the most part, immigrant workers: they have chosen to travel

to this self-governing territory from 'mainland' Greece. They might not even be considered labourers, for their labour is informal, unpaid and invisible: strictly speaking they are, for the most part, overstaying guests of the Holy Mountain. Neither of the two extant social studies of Mount Athos, an anthropological study of pilgrims (Gothóni, 1994) and a sociological study of the monks themselves (Choukas, 1935), acknowledges the existence of longer-term guests within the monastic communities studied. I have presented an empirical paper which gave voice to these invisible migrant workers (Russell, 2013a).

As mentioned in section 7.5, one of the workers likened the guest master to a 'gang master', and as found in extant studies of immigrant labourers in 'mainland' Greece (Markova and Sarris, 1997; Lazaridis and Romaniszyn, 1998; Iosifides et al., 2007), the guest workers' labour process was highly-structured and mostly comprised of tasks that other residents would rather not wish to perform. However, complicating this comparison is that the same worker also acknowledged that guest workers were recipients of monastic love labour (Lynch, 2007) and spiritual labour. By having overstayed their permission to reside on the Mountain the majority of the guest workers could be asked to leave not just the monastery but the whole mountain at a moment's notice. However unintentionally, the border of the self-governing territory and the nature of the monastery as a 'total institution' (Goffman, 1961b) exercised a certain degree of control. But such control was not absolute. The guest workers' otherness manifested itself in acts of resistance, misbehaviour and dissent, such as the cases of taking an ersatz shower and smoking cigarettes mentioned in section 7.5.

The guest workers are socio-economically invisible because they do not accrue entitlements to benefits or pensions in 'mainland' Greece whilst working on the mountain. For some this compounds their prior lack of entitlements which influenced their decision to go to the monastery. Whilst primarily of significance for the workers themselves, their situation also has meso- and macro-level consequences. The organisation loses cohesion and the opportunity for monks to

humble themselves through the practice of 'dirty' work. At a societal level it results in the labour efforts of the Greek population being underestimated.

Regarding the perennial problem of ethnography, giving a very holistic picture of a particular place at a particular time, there are a number of opportunities for future research which would help to address this. One is to conduct further research at IM. One key issue I felt on my penultimate and final visits was the difference between ICT practice and the official line of the monastery. As the adoption of ICTs increased between these visits, the only change in the discourse concerning ICTs was from Father Alphege. Apart from him, the interpretations of ICTs I heard at IM still conformed to my categorisation in section 6.5. It would be interesting to revisit and see whether this cognitive dissonance persists or the discourse changes.

8.5 What determines the nature and extent of organisational resistance to ICTs? (RQ)

In section 8.2 I restated my principal research question which sought to determine the nature and extent of resistance to ICTs at the meso-level of an organisation. In this final section I return to that question and offer some final comments. In the answers to my questions above it is clear that meso-level resistance is dynamic: an Abbot resists ICTs with the intent of preserving monastic identity and structures, only for this resistance to itself be resisted; this latter resistance, an unintended consequence, potentially, although not ultimately in this case, being more disruptive to monastic identity and structures than the ICT itself.

In terms of the extant literature concerning resistance towards ICTs this thesis challenges the conventional view of resistance towards ICTs resulting from a deficit: resistance was a positive choice. In terms of the *critical* extant literature this thesis also provides a focus on meso-level resistance which differs in its nature, at least in part, to micro-level resistance. In fact, the example of IM even contrasts with the two Greek examples of resistance to ICTs contemporary to the fieldwork of this thesis, which I introduced at the beginning of chapter 1 and revisited at the

beginning of this chapter: an attack on Aristotle University's central server by an anarchist radio-broadcasting group and another on the computer lab of the liberal studies centre by 'the think tank for the overthrow of existence'.

In those examples of meso-level, organisational, resistance the organisations did not have collective control of time and place, they were like guerrilla warriors employing tactics of resistance (de Certeau, 1984). In that respect they were similar in nature to that of individuals and groups in the extant literature. The monasteries of Mount Athos have owned and governed the territory on which they are sited for over a thousand years, even through Ottoman occupation and Latin crusades. As such the simile of generals employing strategies of resistance towards ICTs seems to be more apt. In terms of *weltanschauung* embodied in the artefact and that of the organisation, 'the think tank for the overthrow of existence', grounded in localism and socialism, resisted ICTs as embodiments of globalisation and capitalism. Monasteries, with a distinct *weltanschauung* and way of life, experienced even more conflict with the structure, form or *weltanschauung* embodied in the artefact. In terms of the difference in reaction to different ICTs by the same organisation, the group 'outside the University' at AUTH sabotaged the central computer lab in pursuit of a service ultimately provided by the very same lab. 'The think tank for the overthrow of existence' took responsibility for their attack on computers via computers. With Mount Athos being a WiFi trial site, several new ICTs were being enabled, and these, together with the recent roll-out of conventional GSM networks on the Holy Mountain, meant that differences in response to these different ICTs were observed.

Looking back to the findings of chapter 2, the objective existence of structure shapes the creation of ICTs and therefore to some extent, at least, becomes structured in such artefacts. ICTs are 'bundles of material and cultural properties packaged in some socially recognizable form such as hardware and/or software' (Orlikowski and Iacono, 2001: 121). Such properties reflect technocratic instrumental logic, logic with little appeal to the Abbot who led the monastery in generally resisting

their adoption. His overall view was that resisting a new ICT is better than changing the local systems of values and reasoning by adopting the rationality conducive to modernisation, for that might spell the end for their space to implement an alternative way of life. Of the ICTs adopted, however, what was of significance was that mobile phones presuppose a person available to answer them when they are called. If that person is a monk, then it necessitates a change to their way of life: the monastic regimen – which ensures an equal division of time between prayer, labour and rest – is disrupted.

In terms of methodology, by employing ethnography this thesis answers Matusik and Mikel's (2011) call for research into the adoption and use of ICTs which captures enactments with technology as well as recording interpretations of it: they consider this important because of the possible discrepancies between the two. Ethnography enabled monks' interpretations to be recorded in interviews and their enactments to be captured via participant observation. By studying a social unit that epitomised Rogers' (2003) characterisation of laggards as conservative individuals or groups with few external contacts and a suspicious attitude towards new ideas I revisit the classic ethnography of the introduction of ICTs into organisations (Zuboff, 1988) in a new context, where the macro-level 'push' for adoption is much stronger than it was in 1988.

In terms of theoretical resources this thesis constitutes the first empirical application of Mouzelis' work to ICTs. Save for the limitations of Mouzelis' work identified in section 8.3, this thesis generally establishes the relevance and suitability of his three dimensions of social practice for studying resistance to ICTs. Further, on the points of disagreement between Mouzelis and Parsons, and Mouzelis and Bourdieu, in this thesis I largely concur with Mouzelis (or at least his position, with the caveat of his opponents' positions not being entirely represented). With respect to the positional dimension I concur with Mouzelis against Parsons that there can be friction or conflict between positions and dispositions. Having applied Mouzelis' technological, appropriative and ideological spheres, in the guise of extant model of the duality of technology (Orlikowski, 1992), as

well as the AGIL schema at the micro-level of analysis, I also concur that this is insightful, although not so much that it can replace the micro-level application of Parsons' AGIL schema. I also concur with Mouzelis, against Bourdieu, with respect to the existence of intra-*habitus* contradictions: the monastic *habitus* at IM comes into conflict with the prior, pre-Athos, *habitus* of the monks with respect to resistance to, and engagement with, ICTs. Further I concur with Mouzelis, against Bourdieu, that there may be conscious, strategic action resulting from one's *habitus*: Father Alphege consciously and strategically requested first a laptop and then a mobile phone. For, ultimately, the fortress-like walls and Byzantine-like borders of Mount Athos fail to keep out ICTs.

Chapter 9

Epilogue

You see hives a lot in religious art, particularly in monasteries, this idea of everyone living together harmoniously...

Clearly the people who'd picked up on those had never lived in a monastery. Religious community life was, and remains to this day, not always that easy, but then, I suppose, hives are not always as harmonious as we like to imagine.

*(†Justin Cantuar: televised in *The Wonder of Bees* with Martha Kearney, 2014)*

9.1 Introduction

In chapter 8 I brought together the answers to my research questions, commencing with answers to my subsidiary questions (SQ1-SQ4). Having provided a brief summation and explanation of the key findings in the context of this thesis, I then reflected on the limitations of my research, both theoretical and methodological. Next I unearthed an unexpected finding before I addressed my primary research question (RQ) and offered some comments on the significance of this original piece of research and its contribution to the body of knowledge.

In this chapter I look beyond my thesis. I begin in section 9.2 by suggesting opportunities to take my thesis forward, whether regarding use of my work as it stands by others, potential for empirical extension or theoretical development of my existing work by the work of others. In section 9.3 I then outline what potential pitfalls may be waiting for others wanting to follow in my footsteps, reprising and consolidating the key things I have learned through this process. Finally, in section

9.4, I mention the benefits I received from conducting this research and reflect back on the thesis' title.

9.2 Suggestions

In this section I suggest opportunities to take my thesis forward, whether regarding use of my work as it stands by others, potential for empirical extension or theoretical development of my existing work by the work of others.

Use of my work by others

As stated in section 8.5, in terms of theoretical resources this thesis constitutes the first empirical application of Mouzelis' work to ICTs. Save for the limitations of Mouzelis' work identified in section 8.3, this thesis generally establishes the relevance and suitability of his three dimensions of social practice for studying resistance to ICTs. I believe that my conceptual framework, based upon these three dimensions, can be used to explore resistance, and, of course, its inescapable corollary, power, in other contexts far from monasteries and ICTs. Of particular use, I feel, are the tools I have developed and used which go beyond even Mouzelis' own application of his theories. First, my combination of the dimensions as parallel columns in a single diagram (e.g. figure 7.6) which can be used to plot frontiers between macro-level power and meso-level resistance and between meso-level power and micro-level resistance. Second, my implementation of the AGIL schema (e.g. figure 5.1), used by Parsons but not Mouzelis, and, in other ICT-related contexts, its combination with the structurational model of technology. Third, my plotting of capitals against each other (e.g. figure 6.5), used by Bourdieu but not Mouzelis. Fourth, my capturing of constellations (e.g. figure 7.5), performed by neither Elias nor Mouzelis. Together these comprise a toolkit from which others could draw to suit their task in hand.

This thesis challenges the conventional view of resistance towards ICTs resulting from a deficit. I hope that the positive digital choice against ICTs – although a contested one – which I discovered

can encourage, and be used as an example by, other researchers. Prior to this research the extant examples came solely from the domain of healthcare.

This thesis also challenges the extant view that monasteries are sites of simple obedience to authority. I hope that it may encourage others to research monasteries, institutions which are still of significance in many parts of the world, and yet have been relatively neglected by organisational studies.

In terms of methodology, by employing ethnography this thesis captures enactments with technology as well as recording interpretations of it. I hope my work will encourage other researchers to embrace ethnography as a research approach, whether for studying ICTs, monasteries or resistance. That said, I would wish for them to be aware of the potential pitfalls which I go on to outline in the next section.

All of the above, of course, are subject to me disseminating the findings of this this thesis through appropriately carved future journal articles.

Empirical extension

In section 8.4 I unearthed data on non-monastic guest workers. Whilst their presence in IM was unexpected they did form part of a constellation relevant to my fourth subsidiary question (SQ4). Beyond these guest workers I made other unexpected findings which do not feature in this thesis, until now, as they do not relate to my research questions. They therefore constitute empirical opportunities to take my research further. These I explore first in this sub-section before identifying opportunities beyond the Holy Mountain.

As well as this interesting data on a micro- to micro-level figuration I also found interesting data on a meso- to macro-level figuration. As stated in chapter 5, the twenty monasteries, including IM, govern the Holy Mountain under the supreme supervision of the Œcumenical Patriarch (of Constantinople). For over ninety years, IM and some of the other monasteries on the mountain

have resisted certain innovations of the Patriarch. In 1923, a pan-Orthodox congress agreed on a change to the Orthodox Church Calendar. Dates had previously been according to the Julian calendar, established by Julius Caesar. The new calendar, the 'Revised Julian Calendar' would essentially move the Orthodox Church into line with the Gregorian calendar, which Pope Gregory XIII established half a millennium after the schism between the Roman Catholic and Orthodox churches. Within the Œcumenical Patriarchate, IM and eighteen of the other nineteen monasteries refused to change to the new calendar. Not only this, they ceased commemorating the Patriarch in their service of Divine Liturgy, i.e. they no longer prayed for him as their Bishop. They also guided and communicated, through sending monks to the 'mainland', the lay movement of resistance to the new calendar within the Church of Greece. To give an idea of the scale of this movement, within ten years they founded 800 parishes and monasteries and the movement had become a Church itself (Bishop Chrysostomos et al., 1994). Eventually a compromise was reached in 1927 whereby IM and seventeen of the eighteen other resisting monasteries agreed to resume commemorating the Œcumenical Patriarch in anticipation of an upcoming Pan-Orthodox *Council*, to be called by the Patriarch, which would resolve the calendar issue. Whilst the former took place, the latter is yet to be called.

The compromise has not always held. In various rounds since the 1970s, Abbots and their brotherhoods have dissented in protest at the Œcumenical Patriarchate's ecumenical activities. The Patriarchate has retaliated by dramatically exerting its macro-level power: removing, exiling and replacing dissenting monks with police assistance. I spoke to one such monk in Athens, who had been evicted from Mount Athos in 1992. However, in the case of the (now unofficial) monastery of Esphigmenou, even being blockaded by a Greek naval warship and surrounded by marines has not broken their resolve to literally fight for their right to continue to occupy their monastery and yet not commemorate the holder of the office of the Patriarch of Constantinople (Whipple, 2009). Elsewhere he is commemorated in the Divine Liturgies, however, these liturgies continue to take place in accordance with the old calendar abandoned by the Patriarchate. This

simultaneous obedience and resistance prefigures a more recent figuration of macro-level power and meso-level resistance, that of IM and the Holy Community explored in section 7.2. Taken together, these figurations could therefore form a paper on power and resistance in general.

Another unexpected discovery was when one monk described the 'rule' of Saint Basil as giving 'freedom, unlike the rule of Saint Benedict' which is oft-used in Roman Catholic monasteries (either directly by the Benedictines or as one of a set of foundational texts in other orders). He went on to elucidate some of the major differences in approach between the Roman Catholic and Orthodox churches on the matter of authority. In view of the adoption of the monastic rule of Saint Benedict in recent management literature (Kennedy, 1999; Tredget, 2010), a data-informed paper on the 'rule' of Saint Basil might complement and contrast with such literature.

Since I began my fieldwork the currency of my site for exploring resistance to, and adoption of, ICTs has been confirmed by two events, one academic and one ecclesiastical. In 2009 a paper (Tanasyuk and Avgerou, 2009) on ICT use on Mount Athos was presented at a conference. Although the focus of the paper is engagement with ICTs, rather than resistance, it confirms the academic significance of studying ICTs in this context. In 2013 the Patriarch of Moscow, the head of the Russian Orthodox Church, on a visit to one of the other Athonite monasteries, urged monks not to use their mobiles to access the Internet so as to avoid temptation (Davies, 2013). This shows both that monastic engagement with ICTs is happening beyond IM, and that it is being resisted by church leaders beyond Mount Athos. This suggests the potential for research elsewhere on the Holy Mountain, or beyond in other Orthodox monasteries; it also highlights the potential for collaboration with others.

To serve the purpose of research collaboration I have received a Santander Mobility Award to travel to Moscow. At the Higher School of Economics there is a researcher, Ksenia Medvedeva, who has conducted an ethnography of a convent in Russia (2016). Our studies are both complementary and contrasting. Complementary because we have both used participant observation over a number of

months in a given monastery; contrasting in terms of country, gender and the porousness of the monastic boundary. In addition, whilst in Moscow, I intend to meet Ivan Obukhov, whose thesis on resistance by Russian Orthodox to individual tax numbers (2004), resonates, and has connections with, resistance to barcodes at Esphigmenou monastery on Mount Athos.

As well as further research on monks, I believe exploring resistance to ICTs amongst academics could serve as a complementary and contrasting profession to the monks of my PhD ethnography. These classic, atypical professions have long-enjoyed high-discretion, self-regulation and longevity of tenure. Society has granted them – diminishing – economic, intellectual and physical shelter from the marketplace. The differences in the extent to which they have lost such shelter, their epistemology and ontology and their degrees of engagement with people outside their profession, may inform the extent and nature of their resistance to technologies whose codification of rules from another place may undermine their profession.

Theoretical development

Alongside these opportunities to take my research forward empirically there are also opportunities to take my research forward theoretically. One such route is via the work of Goffman (1961a: 168; 1961b) and Asad (1987). A monastery is a type of ‘total institution’ (Goffman, 1961b), and one that provides ideal conditions as it reduces extraneous factors. A total institution is an environment where individuals live and work in a community, there are limited possibilities for external contact and ‘disciplinary practices’ (Asad, 1987) are used to control the individual in terms of their internal response as well as their external behaviour. Such is the strength of a ‘total institution’ that Goffman comments:

The self...can be seen as something that resides in the arrangements prevailing in a social system for its members. The self in this sense is not a property of the person to whom it is attributed, but dwells rather in the pattern of social control that is exerted in connection

with the person by himself and those around him. This special kind of institutional arrangement does not so much support the self as constitute it. (1961a: 168)

Goffman's concept of a 'total institution', of which the cloister is but one example, could be considered to represent the broad alignment of the positional and dispositional dimensions of social practice. It was suggested to me, in response to a presentation I gave on this research at the Critical Management Studies (CMS) conference (Russell, 2013a), that a paper focusing on the match between this concept and my fieldwork findings would be worthwhile.

Foucault could also be explored further. Brooke has stated that 'IS research is becoming over-saturated with Habermasian analyses', and suggests looking beyond 'to other theorists, such as Foucault' (2002a: 46). Brooke herself went on to explore Foucault: she considers that Foucault and Habermas are 'co-creating a dialectical dance' (2002b: 56). For instance, Habermas' theory of communicative action identifies what is required for democracy to exist; Foucault identifies means of asserting oneself within a so-called democracy. To neglect one, therefore, is to the detriment of the discipline. Further, Foucault's notion of regimes of truth might assist in exploring the connections between reason and power, and the existence of local, situated rationalities (Avgerou, 2000; Avgerou, 2002). In addition, Foucault has written about power in a way which supports the importance of the figural dimension – hence why I quoted his work at the head of chapter 7 – as for both Elias and Foucault power is not an institution or a structure but far more polymorphous. Even more appropriately, Foucault has written about monastic disciplinary practices, such as confession, as forms of technology themselves (1988; 1997): practical rationalities governed by the conscious aim of transforming, or at least controlling, the monk.

9.3 Potential pitfalls

Whilst in section 9.2 I encouraged others to research resistance and monasteries as well as to conduct ethnography there are potential pitfalls which those who might follow in my footsteps should consider.

Finding the time

Doherty (2015) has stated that the average ethnographic project takes nine years from conception through to completion. This thesis is therefore unexceptional, in ethnographic circles, in terms of the time it has taken to come to fruition. Whilst the time spent in the field can be expected, what is not realised is the time taken to secure funding, negotiate access, pass ethics approval – and on the other side of the fieldwork, the time taken to write out and up. Had I known that nine years ago, I may have come to a different view of the most appropriate research approach, particularly if I somehow knew that during that time I would become a Head of Department and have a condition to complete my PhD within a given timeframe added to my contract of employment. Certainly if I were now to supervise a fellow member of staff I would encourage them to consider auto-ethnography as a possible, more timely, variant.

Picking a theorist who is relatively untested empirically

As I mention in section 8.5 one of the contributions of this thesis is that it constitutes the first empirical application of Mouzelis' work to ICTs. This achievement, however, came at a price: hours of solitary struggle arriving at a conceptual framework and theoretical toolkit that I could take into, and develop through, the field. I would caution others against choosing a theorist because they are relatively untested. After all, this may be because the theory is flawed and/or it does not lend itself to empirical application. Further, there are conferences and networks around the application of certain theorists (e.g. Elias and Bourdieu) so picking a theorist of lesser stature may exclude one from potential sources of support, feedback and collaboration.

Combining inductive and deductive

Building upon the issue of arriving at a conceptual framework and theoretical toolkit, I believe that I have shown in this thesis that they can be usefully employed, as relatively loose guides – rather than constraints – when conducting an intensive research approach, one which lends itself to induction rather than deduction. Despite this, one perhaps should carefully consider the extent to

which these are necessary. Having nearly completed my research apprenticeship, and being relatively well-read theoretically, I think in future I shall seek to enter the field sooner and would encourage others in a similar position to do the same.

Uncovering resistance

Based upon my preparatory reading (e.g. Collinson and Ackroyd, 2005) I had formed the view that uncovering resistance would be difficult and certainly in writing my research proposal and gaining ethics approval it was certainly a challenge to persuade others that I would find it. Of course, it took some time to identify an appropriate organisation, one which I knew was resisting ICTs. However, once in the organisation I found far more resistance that I would ever have imagined, although much of it unplanned for: either unrelated to ICTs, or at the micro- rather than meso-level. Perhaps, when researching resistance, the focus should simply be to secure access of sufficient depth and duration: you will find it.

Researching religious organisations

Researching religious organisations presents several related challenges. One is convincing others of the relevance of the domain. Certainly in the UK, religious organisations are not considered to inhabit the same sphere as business schools and are unlikely sources of research funding. It is perhaps not a surprise that those countries where I discern a kindling of research on monasteries have a dominant, powerful church (Italy, Poland and Russia). More broadly, the social-scientific study of religious organisations falls between academic disciplines. Theology is not concerned with the contemporary practice of religious organisation whilst the sociology of religion is currently concerned with macro-level analysis of religion. Meanwhile, organisational studies has tended to stay clear of faith-based institutions. I mention in section 4.4 the import of being close, but not too close. Maintaining the balance of proximity and distance was a challenge for me. But it was also a challenge that very few others could have met: those of another faith or none would never have got so close; those of uncritical faith would not have been able to create distance. Sharing such a

challenge, or pitfall, should not, of course, take away from the benefits of researching such a fieldwork site.

9.4 Resisting resistance

Finally, I should mention the benefits I received from conducting this research. One can reasonably wonder if there can be any implications of this research for those who do not share the ontological *weltanschauung* of the monks. To the extent that the practices which follow such an orientation towards death bring benefits to life, one can posit the answer ‘yes’. Whilst conducting this fieldwork, and learning Greek, I developed my own religious and social capital. I developed a familiarity with the Orthodox tradition and practices, following as I did in large part the formation of novices. This gave me confidence, or at least conscious competence, in the rituals and practices of the Church which has proved transferable to the other Orthodox churches and monasteries I have visited since. After all, the Orthodox Divine Liturgy was, even a thousand years ago, considered exotic and impenetrable (Bishop Kallistos of Diokleia, 2000). In terms of social capital I have built a network of pilgrims ranging from Greece, through Serbia and Belgium to the US. So much so that I spent an entire two week holiday in Serbia visiting pilgrims and guest workers who I had met on Mount Athos and fellow students from my Greek language summer school at Aristotle University in Thessaloniki.

In terms of the extant theoretical literature concerning monasteries (e.g. Goffman, 1961a; Goffman, 1961b) this thesis challenges the view that they are sites of simple obedience to authority. What monks really do in the doing of their vocation is rarely written about. This study of practice leads to a deeper understanding of power relations within monasteries as well as their engagement with ICTs. Although, as Father Alphege cautioned IM ‘is not a democracy’, if it be a dictatorship it is a relatively benevolent one. Even in such a ‘total institution’, meso-level resistance to ICTs is itself resisted by both macro- and micro-levels. And further, such resistance is not merely reactive but is also creative. The monastery of my study, at least, is far from a harmonious hive as

depicted in medieval religious art. It is a complex, dynamic, organisation where power ebbs and flows in figurations of different actors, human and non-human.

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Appendix A: Diamonitiria from my fieldwork visits

 ΙΕΡΑ ΕΠΙΣΤΑΣΙΑ ΑΓΙΟΥ ΟΡΟΥΣ ΛΘΩ № 32241											
	ΚΑΡΥΑΙ, ΤΗ 08/11/2008 ΛΗΓΕΙ ΤΗ 11/11/2008 ΑΡ. ΕΙΣΟΔΟΥ 1										
<h2>ΔΙΑΜΟΝΗΤΗΡΙΟΝ</h2>											
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ΤΟ ΠΑΡΟΝ ΓΡΑΜΜΑ ΑΠΟ 3/16-11-2008 ΕΩΣ 3/16-11-2008 ΠΡΩΤΕΠΙΣΤΑΤΗΣ <i>Γερον. Στεφαν</i>											
'Ο κομιστής του παρόντος ιεροκοινοσφραγίστου και ένυπογράφου γράμματος ήμων κύριος RUSSELL CHRISTOFER του θρήσκευμα: ΧΡΙΣΤΙΑΝΟΣ ΟΡΘΟΔΟΞΟΣ ιδιότης: άρ. Δ.Α.Τ.: άρ. Διαβ.: 207287410 πόλις ή χώρα: ΗΝΟΜΕΝΟ ΒΑΣΙΛΕΙΟ με άδειαν παραμονής τεσσάρων (4) ήμερών άφίκετο πρὸς επίσκεψιν τῶν ἱερῶν σκηνωμάτων καὶ προσκύνησιν τῶν-ἐν αὐτοῖς ἀποκειμένων ἱερῶν καὶ δόσιων τῆς Πίστεως ἡμῶν. Παρακαλεῖσθε ὅθεν, ὅπως παράσχητε αὐτῷ, πρὸς τῇ φιλόφρονι ὑποδοχῇ καὶ πᾶσαν ἅμα δυνατὴν φιλοξενίαν καὶ περιποίησιν πρὸς ἐκπλήρωσιν τοῦ δι' ὃν ἔρχεται αὐτόσε σκοποῦ. 'Εφ' ᾧ διατελοῦμεν λίαν φιλαδέλφως ἐν Χριστῷ ἀδελφοὶ ΟΙ ΕΠΙΣΤΑΤΑΙ ΤΗΣ ΙΕΡΑΣ ΚΟΙΝΟΤΗΤΟΣ ΤΟΥ ΑΓΙΟΥ ΟΡΟΥΣ ΛΘΩ <table border="0" style="width: 100%;"> <tr> <td style="width: 40%;">Ο ΧΙΛΙΑΝΔΑΡΙΟΥ</td> <td style="width: 20%;">ΠΡΩΤΕΠΙΣΤΑΤΗΣ</td> <td rowspan="4" style="width: 40%; vertical-align: top;"> <i>Γερον. Στεφαν</i> <i>Γερον. Παύλος</i> <i>Γερον. Νικόδημος</i> <i>Γερον. Νικόλαος</i> </td> </tr> <tr> <td>Ο ΞΗΡΟΠΟΤΑΜΟΥ</td> <td>ΕΠΙΣΤΑΤΗΣ</td> </tr> <tr> <td>Ο ΑΓΙΟΥ ΠΑΥΛΟΥ</td> <td>»</td> </tr> <tr> <td>Ο ΓΡΗΓΟΡΙΟΥ</td> <td>»</td> </tr> </table>			Ο ΧΙΛΙΑΝΔΑΡΙΟΥ	ΠΡΩΤΕΠΙΣΤΑΤΗΣ	<i>Γερον. Στεφαν</i> <i>Γερον. Παύλος</i> <i>Γερον. Νικόδημος</i> <i>Γερον. Νικόλαος</i>	Ο ΞΗΡΟΠΟΤΑΜΟΥ	ΕΠΙΣΤΑΤΗΣ	Ο ΑΓΙΟΥ ΠΑΥΛΟΥ	»	Ο ΓΡΗΓΟΡΙΟΥ	»
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№ 004385



ΦΟΙΤΗΤΙΚΟΝ

ΚΑΡΥΑΙ, ΤΗ 12/12/2009

ΛΗΓΕΙ ΤΗ 15/12/2009

ΑΡ. ΕΙΣΟΔΟΥ 1

ΔΙΑΜΟΝΗΤΗΡΙΟΝ

ΠΡΟΣ

ΤΑΣ ΕΙΚΟΣΙΝ ΙΕΡΑΣ ΚΑΙ ΣΕΒΑΣΜΙΑΣ ΜΟΝΑΣ

ΤΟΥ ΑΓΙΟΥ ΟΡΟΥΣ

ΛΘΩ

Ὁ κομιστής τοῦ παρόντος ἱεροκοινοσφραγίστου καὶ ἐνυπογράφου γράμματος ἡμῶν
κύριος RUSSELL CHRISTOFER

τοῦ θρήσκευμα: ΧΡΙΣΤΙΑΝΟΣ ΟΡΘΟΔΟΞΟΣ

ιδιότης:

ἀρ. Δ.Α.Τ.: ἀρ. Διαβ.: 207287410

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Ο ΔΙΟΝΥΣΙΟΥ ΠΡΩΤΕΠΙΣΤΑΤΗΣ

Ο ΖΩΓΡΑΦΟΥ ΕΠΙΣΤΑΤΗΣ

Ο ΡΩΣΣΙΚΟΥ *

Ο ΚΩΝΣΤΑΝΤΙΝΙΤΟΥ *

Γέρων Συμβεώνης
ΜΟΝ. Εὐθυμίου
καρμ. Κυριακή
Γέρων Ἐφραίμ



ΙΕΡΑ ΕΠΙΣΤΑΣΙΑ
ΑΓΙΟΥ ΟΡΟΥΣ
ΛΘΩ

№ 004875



ΦΟΙΤΗΤΙΚΟΝ

ΚΑΡΥΔΑΙ, ΤΗ: 14/02/2010

ΛΗΓΕΙ ΤΗ: 17/02/2010

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Ο ΔΙΟΝΥΣΙΟΥ ΠΡΩΤΕΠΙΣΤΑΤΗΣ

Ο ΖΩΓΡΑΦΟΥ ΕΠΙΣΤΑΤΗΣ

Ο ΡΩΣΣΙΚΟΥ »

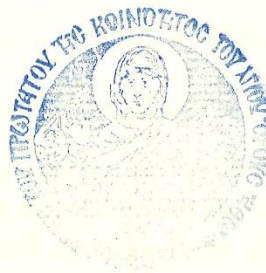
Ο ΚΩΝΣΤΑΜΟΝΙΤΟΥ »

Γέρων Συμεών
ΜΟΝ. Εὐθυμίου
κερομ. Κυριακῆ
Γέρων Ἐφραίμ



ΙΕΡΑ ΕΠΙΣΤΑΣΙΑ
ΑΓΙΟΥ ΟΡΟΥΣ
ΛΘΩ

№ 005233



ΦΟΙΤΗΤΙΚΟΝ

ΚΑΡΥΑΙ, ΤΗ: 20/03/2010

ΛΗΓΕΙ ΤΗ: 23/03/2010

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ΔΙΑΜΟΝΗΤΗΡΙΟΝ

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Ο ΖΩΓΡΑΦΟΥ ΕΠΙΣΤΑΤΗΣ

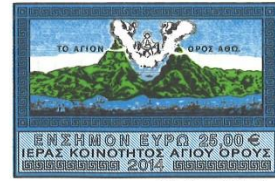
Ο ΡΩΣΣΙΚΟΥ *

Ο ΚΩΝΣΤΑΝΤΙΝΟΥ *

Γέρων Συμεών
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κερομ. Κυριο
Γέρων Έφραιμ



ΙΕΡΑ ΕΠΙΣΤΑΣΙΑ
ΑΓΙΟΥ ΟΡΟΥΣ
ΛΘΩ



ΚΑΡΥΑΙ, ΤΗ:16-07-2015.....
ΛΗΓΕΙ ΤΗ:19-07-2015.....
AA-109/1

087546 ΔΙΑΜΟΝΗΤΗΡΙΟΝ

ΠΡΟΣ
ΤΑΣ ΕΙΚΟΣΙΝ ΙΕΡΑΣ ΚΑΙ ΓΕΒΑΣΜΙΑΣ ΜΟΝΑΣ
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Ο ΜΕΓΙΣΤΗΣ ΛΑΥΡΑΣ	ΠΡΩΤΕΠΙΣΤΑΤΗΣ
Ο ΔΟΧΕΙΑΡΙΟΥ	ΕΠΙΣΤΑΤΗΣ
Ο ΞΕΝΟΦΩΝΤΟΣ	ΕΠΙΣΤΑΤΗΣ
Ο ΕΣΦΙΓΜΕΝΟΥ	ΕΠΙΣΤΑΤΗΣ

Γερων Παῦλος
Γ. Η. 47107
Γερων Γρηγόριος
Γερων Αβρόν Γερων



1512860

Appendix B: Certificate from my intensive summer Greek language course at the Aristotle University of Thessaloniki

 ΕΛΛΗΝΙΚΗ ΔΗΜΟΚΡΑΤΙΑ HELLENIC REPUBLIC	ΑΡΙΣΤΟΤΕΛΕΙΟ ΠΑΝΕΠΙΣΤΗΜΙΟ ΘΕΣΣΑΛΟΝΙΚΗΣ ARISTOTLE UNIVERSITY OF THESSALONIKI
	ΣΧΟΛΕΙΟ ΝΕΑΣ ΕΛΛΗΝΙΚΗΣ ΓΛΩΣΣΑΣ SCHOOL OF MODERN GREEK LANGUAGE
Θεσσαλονίκη, 28 Σεπτεμβρίου 2009	
Αριθμός Βεβαίωσης: 21	
<h3><u>ΒΕΒΑΙΩΣΗ</u></h3>	
<p>Βεβαιώνεται ότι ο RUSSELL CHRISTOPHER PAUL από τη Μ. ΒΡΕΤΑΝΙΑ παρακολούθησε μαθήματα νέας ελληνικής γλώσσας και πολιτισμού, στη βαθμίδα των αρχαρίων (Α1, επίπεδο στοιχειώδους γνώσης) για είκοσι (20) ώρες την εβδομάδα.</p>	
<p>Το πρόγραμμα πραγματοποιήθηκε από 19 Αυγούστου 2009 έως 16 Σεπτεμβρίου 2009.</p>	
<p>Ο παραπάνω συμμετείχε επιτυχώς στις εξετάσεις που πραγματοποιήθηκαν στο τέλος του προγράμματος και η συνολική επίδοσή του αξιολογήθηκε με το βαθμό: οχτώ (8), λίαν καλώς.</p>	
<p>Στο Σχολείο Νέας Ελληνικής Γλώσσας λειτουργούν τμήματα των εξής βαθμίδων: αρχαρίων (Α1 και Α2), μέσων (Β1 και Β2) και προχωρημένων (Γ1 και Γ2).</p>	
<p>Η βεβαίωση αυτή χορηγείται για κάθε νόμιμη χρήση, εκτός από εγγραφή σε Ανώτερη ή Ανώτατη Σχολή της Ελλάδος.</p>	
<p>Η Προϊσταμένη της Γραμματείας</p>	
<div data-bbox="550 1608 766 1818">  </div> <p>Θεοδώρα Καλδη - Κουλικίδου</p>	
<p>ΑΡΙΣΤΟΤΕΛΕΙΟ ΠΑΝΕΠΙΣΤΗΜΙΟ ΘΕΣΣΑΛΟΝΙΚΗΣ - 54124 ΘΕΣΣΑΛΟΝΙΚΗ http://www.auth.gr/smg & http://www.smg.edu.gr ARISTOTLE UNIVERSITY OF THESSALONIKI-54124 THESSALONIKI, GREECE http://www.auth.gr/smg & http://www.smg.edu.gr</p>	

Appendix C: Press release from OTE announcing WiMAX trial



Press Release

PILOT OPERATION OF OTE WiMAX NETWORK IN MOUNT ATHOS

Athens, August 20th 2008 - OTE announces that the pilot WiMAX network in Mount Athos is operational. The first users have already been connected to the Internet, using the wireless broadband access (WiMAX) network.

The WiMAX installation in the remote peninsula of Mount Athos at northern Greece is an important project for OTE, as, through technologically innovative solutions, it facilitates the provision of broadband internet services in a place of great religious and cultural heritage.

The pilot WiMAX network provides broadband services and IP telephony (VoIP). It should be noted that Mount Athos is a very rough and mountainous terrain, that lacks means of transport and communication, and which does not even have an electricity network installed.

In total, six WiMAX base stations have already been installed. The network range reaches 50 km, covering the majority of the Monasteries and Scetea of Mount Athos. OTE's WiMAX base stations transmit at radio frequency spectrum of 3.5 GHz that is provided to OTE by EETT (National Regulatory Authority). The systems are aligned to IEEE 802.16-2004 standard specifications, the standard which allows for "wireless broadband access". The equipment used is certified by WiMAX Forum, the exclusive institution for WiMAX "wireless broadband access" systems certification.

During the initial phase, the first users already connected are located at various monasteries, the small remote island of Ammouliani, the capital of Athos, Karyes, and the area of Ierissos.

As part of the company's business strategy and corporate responsibility approach, OTE seeks to manage the impact of its operations on the environment and actively contributes to efforts for the protection of the environment. Within this framework, constant operation of the WiMAX network is guaranteed through the use of Renewable Resources of Energy, such as solar and wind energy. WiMAX base stations are operating with photovoltaic systems in combination with small wind generators, providing the necessary electric energy without harming the environment.

Up to the present time, the pilot WiMAX network in Mount Athos has operated uninterruptedly, even under the most unfavourable weather conditions. Apart from Mount Athos, OTE has already installed and is evaluating two other pilot WiMAX systems at selected Athens basin areas, including the broader area of the Athens

Σελ. 1 από 1



International Airport "El. Venizelos". In OTE's plans are further installations of such systems in other parts of the country.

INFORMATION:

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